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LECTURES
ON THE
RISE AND EARLY CONSTITUTION
OF UNIVERSITIES



LECTURES
ON THE
· RISE AND EARLY CONSTITUTION
OF UNIVERSITIES ·

WITH A del
SURVEY OF MEDIÆVAL EDUCATION
A.D. 200-1350.

BY
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//
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LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE
1886

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PREFACE.

THIS book is not addressed to historical experts, but to schoolmasters and others who wish to know something about mediæval education and the rise of universities. The Lectures are, in fact, part of my historical course which I cannot find time or occasion to deliver, as I think it better to confine my public instructions to those historical aspects of education which convey practical lessons suited to the school-room.

While I do not profess to instruct historical experts, I am yet quite prepared to defend the views which I venture to put forth, as at least the honest result of considerable reading and much labour of collation. To some I may seem, when dealing with university origins, to lean too much towards the "lay" views of Meiners; to others I may seem to incline to the "ecclesiastical" views of those who are represented

by the inadequate and ill-constructed book of Huber. I can only say that the theory which I expound is based on a careful induction. Perhaps I ought to have no theory at all; but it seems to me that history, as distinguished from chronicles or annals, must always contain a theory, whether confessed by the writer or not. It may not be put prominently forward, but it lurks in the pages and may be read between the lines. A sound theory is simply a general conception which co-ordinates and gives unity and a causal relation to a multitude of facts. Without this, facts cease to have interest except for the antiquarian.

The manuscript has been so long before me, and so frequently altered as my knowledge of the subject extended, that it is difficult for me now to give all my "sources." But I may mention that for the general history of the period I have read the usual authorities—Gibbon, Milman, Merivale, Guizot, Hallam, Sismondi, Sharon Turner, Freeman, Green, and Skene. All important references I have myself verified. When I draw from accessible works, such as the Theodosian Code, it is from my own analysis of the "Titles" which bear on education, and not at second hand; when I refer to Martianus Capella, Boethius,

or Isidore, I do so as personally cognizant of at least the scope of their works, and have them open before me.

In dealing with the three primary universities, I have based what I say on a careful and independent study of Ackermann for Salernum, of Crevier for Paris, of Savigny for Bologna, of Tomek for Prague, of Mullinger and Anstey's "*Mon. Acad.*" for Cambridge and Oxford; I have also read the general accounts of Meiners, Huber, etc. Bulaeus and Wood have been at hand for reference. Lacroix's "*Middle Ages*," Brentano's "*Guilds*," and Villivry's "*Histoire de l'Instruction publique*" I have found of value, if used with discretion. Newman, Montalembert, Mabillon ("*De Studiis Monasticis*"), Cramer, and Warton have been called into requisition; as also Capes' "*University Life in Athens*," and Kirkpatrick's "*The University*." For monastic studies I have been much indebted to Dr. Specht's "*Geschichte des Unterrichtswesen in Deutschland*," which deals with the Middle Ages only.

The excellent treatise on the "*Schools of Charles the Great*," by Mr. Mullinger, came into my hands (after repeated attempts to procure it) only when I had begun to print, but I read it carefully and found that

my own view concurred substantially with his. I was glad to import from his pages into my own a few quotations and references, and thus take advantage of a learning to which I could not pretend. In addition to the authorities already cited, I went through "*Itterus de Gradibus sive Honoribus Academicis*"—a prolix, clumsy, and confused, but useful, treatise. The books to which I have merely *referred* on specific points, such as the writings of John of Salisbury, are very numerous.

S. S. L.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH,

September, 1886.

NOTE.—I ought almost to apologize to the reader for having failed to study a recent work—"Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400," by P. H. Denifle. It came into my hands only the other day, when correcting my second proofs. I suspended printing till I had read cursorily the most of it. I was pleased to find that the author's *general* views were already to a considerable extent anticipated by me. The work is the most learned that has yet appeared on the subject of universities; it is also, unfortunately, the most polemical. The only *change* of moment which he has led me to make is in

the place to be assigned to the Rector and nations at Paris. His arguments on this question seem to me to be irresistible. I have also checked many of my statements by his. Any more detailed use of the volume must be reserved for a second edition of these Lectures, when Denifle probably will have completed his laborious task.







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MEDIÆVAL EDUCATION AND UNIVERSITIES.



LECTURE I.

THE ROMANO-HELLENIC SCHOOLS AND THEIR DECLINE.

“LOOKING at Athens,” says Newman,* “as the preacher and missionary of letters, and as enlisting the whole Greek race in her work, who is not struck with admiration at the range and multiplicity of her operations? At first the Ionian and Æolian cities were the principal scene of her activity, but if we look on a century or two, we shall find that she forms the intellect of the colonies of Sicily and Magna Græcia; has penetrated Italy, and is shedding the light of philosophy and awakening thought in the cities of Gaul by means of Marseilles, and along the coast of Africa by means of Cyrene. She has sailed up both sides of the Euxine and deposited

* “Historical Sketches,” vol. iii.

her literary wares where she stopped, as traders nowadays leave samples of foreign merchandise, or as war-steamers land muskets and ammunition, or as agents for religious societies drop their tracts or scatter their versions. The whole of Asia Minor and Syria resounds with her teaching; the barbarians of Parthia are quoting fragments of her tragedians; Greek manners are introduced and perpetuated on the Hydaspes and Acesines; Greek coins, lately come to light, are struck in the capital of Bactriana; and so charged is the moral atmosphere of the East with Greek civilization, that down to this day those tribes are said to show to most advantage which can claim relation of place or kin with Greek colonies established there above two thousand years ago."

In the time of Augustus, the Roman and Hellenic educational streams had met. The education we have thenceforth to speak of is, in truth, the education neither of Greece nor Rome, but of the civilized portion of the Roman empire. In the Western empire at least, if not elsewhere, we discern the continuity of the specifically Roman influence. Oratory, as defined by Quintilian in its practical political relations, and law as an imperial system, steadied, so to speak, the more general Hellenic aim. In the East there was more vivacity but less solidity. For a couple of hundred years after the death of Isocrates, Peripatetic and Academic, Stoic and Epicurean, taught crowds of ardent youth, each professor having

a fervent belief in his own philosophy. But in the midst of these philosophic teachers, the sophist, as mere rhetorician, was steadily gaining ascendancy, and even so early as the first century of our era, philosophical studies were pursued rather as a discipline of mind than as a theory of knowledge and life.

It cannot be said that this decline, which began before the birth of Christ, and which steadily continued, spite of the appearance from time to time of a few brilliant and earnest teachers, was due either to the indifference of the State to the higher education, or to the want of professional ambition among the youth of both East and West.

In Athens, which was to the ancient world much more than Paris was to Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the organization of the Academic teachers had been long of a lax kind, and in so far as it was organization at all, it was of a voluntary character. It, in fact, bore a striking resemblance to the state of Paris and Bologna in the twelfth century. But from the time of Augustus, if not before, endowments partly public,* partly private, were given. With endowments there naturally came a more definite organization. There were three principal chairs†—sophistics or rhetoric, politics, and philosophy. The first-named was recognized as the chief chair or

* It is probable that public or *state* endowments did not exist till the time of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180).

† Gräfenhahn (iii. p. 29) says ten.

throne of the school, and had attached to it a salary of £500 a year for life. But the chief source of emolument was at all times the fees of pupils.) Among these were to be found (as in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at Bologna and Paris) matured men of the world, whose fees constantly took the form of handsome *honoraria*. The rival teachers who circulated round the "school" were numerous, and not only competed, but touted, for pupils. The auditors of particular teachers formed parties, and fought with each other. So high did the spirit of competition run, that the arrival of a ship in the Piræus was the signal for a rush not altogether unlike that with which all continental travellers are familiar. But in these days it is a rush of needy porters or hotel-agents; in those, it was a scramble of students, each a self-appointed touter for his own particular sophist.

Spite of many home-grown evils, however, and of the formidable rivalry of Alexandria, Athens continued to hold its own till the second century, not only as the favoured resort of students, but also as the true head-quarters of such speculation as survived. "The splendour," says Merivale (c. 66), "of an individual reputation might suffice to found an academy at other places of educational resort; the disciples of a popular rhetorician or philosopher might maintain for two or more generations the school of which he had laid the foundations; but the ephemeral brilliancy of Rhodes, Tarsus, or Halicarnassus was lost in the

constant and steady light which had beamed for five centuries from the halls of Plato and Aristotle. While hundreds of erudite professors of every art and of all learning wandered from the centre of ancient discipline to instruct in their own homes the patrician youth of Italy and the Provinces, mankind still recognized in undiminished force the necessity of a course of study at Athens itself, to equip the complete scholar and gentleman, the most accomplished product of intellectual training ;"—a remarkable instance of the perpetuity of the power of the *genius loci*.

Numerous as were the centres of Hellenic learning spread over the civilized world two centuries before Christ, there is none which commands our attention, next to Athens itself, so much as Alexandria. This partly because it first gave distinct form and organization to a "university," as we in modern times understand that word. The great Alexander, in founding Alexandria, connected Europe, Asia, and Africa not merely by mercantile bonds, but in their intellectual and literary life. Here arose under the Ptolemies a complete system of higher instruction, and libraries such as the world had not before seen. The books were lodged in the temple of Serapis, and accumulated to the number of seven hundred thousand. They formed the record of all human thought, until they fell a prey to internal civic and religious dissensions. The Serapeum dates from B.C. 298, and,

after recovering from the fire of B.C. 48, it finally disappeared about A.D. 640.*

In connection with this library, Ptolemy founded a college, or rather what might be called a Studium Generale, and endowed its professors. This College was erected in the suburb already occupied by the Serapeum, the royal palace, the amphitheatre, and gymnasia. "A noble portico stretched along its front for exercise or conversation, and opened on the public rooms devoted to disputation and lectures. A certain number of professors were lodged within the precincts, and a handsome hall or refectory was provided for the common meal" (Newman). This building was called the Museum. As time went on, new colleges were added to the original building. The most eminent men were invited to fill the chairs, and round them congregated large numbers of youths from every quarter of the civilized world, to study the arts and sciences which were there represented in their whole range. In the Museum, as also at Athens, were trained the Fathers of the Church.

So enduring was the character of this great institution, that, more than six hundred years after its foundation, Ammianus (A.D. 362) speaks of it as "having been long the abode of distinguished men," and still possessing scholars of repute. Medicine, law, mathematics, and astronomy were cultivated. It was sufficient recommendation to any young medicus in

* There is no evidence that the Arabs burned it.

any part of the Roman empire to have been educated at Alexandria (Amm. Mar., xxii. 16).

As might be expected in a university so carefully organized and endowed, the teaching was of a far more definite and practical character than at Athens. And this practical character, arising largely out of the pursuit of medicine, mathematics, and grammar, gave Alexandria pre-eminence and power after the leadership had passed away from the mother city in Attica. For there can be no doubt that whatever might still be the attractions and reputation of Athens, all earnest philosophical thought was in the first century and thereafter to be found in Alexandria—the university of progress, where neo-Platonism began to rise into importance under the influence of Judaic and Christian ideas. This mystic movement in philosophy culminated in Plotinus, who died about A.D. 205. Nor less in mathematics and physics did Alexandria lead the way.

Passing minor schools, and among them the famous school of law at Berytus, in Phœnicia, we turn to the capital of the empire. There, at the time of which we are speaking, Quintilian was still teaching, and ere long, having retired from active duty, published his "Oratorical Institutions," in which we see the best and soundest elements of the Hellenic teaching penetrated and braced by the Roman spirit. During his lifetime (he died A.D. 118) he saw the beginnings of the Roman "university." Gräfenhahn says he was him-

self a professor in it with a salary of £700 a year.* A common point of rendezvous for the Athenian sophists was naturally the metropolis of the empire, although they were also to be found in all leading provincial towns where they opened private schools. At Rome some attempt was made to regulate their activity and to control their restlessness under the Flavian dispensation. Vespasian completed the design of his new Temple of Peace by erecting a basilica, in which the learned might carry on their teaching and their disputations (A.D. 69-79). This institution was called the Athenæum, if not precisely at this time, at least under Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), who extended it. Both the institution and the name were evidently suggested by the Museum of Alexandria. Fixed salaries and senatorial rank were attached to certain chairs from the time of Vespasian.† This promotion of the higher education was no passing caprice on the part of the imperial authority, but the result of a deliberate policy. Both Vespasian and Hadrian were, in truth, working on lines already laid down by Augustus, but they took a more extended view of the necessities of the empire by planting endowed schools of rhetoric and grammar in provincial towns as well as in Rome. One of the objects they had in view, says Merivale, was to "restore

* "Gesch. der Class. Phil.," iv. 32.

† Sueton., Vit. Vesp., 18, "Primus (V.) e fisco Latinis Græcisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit," etc.

the tone of society, to infuse into the national mind healthier sentiments ;" but I suspect the chief object was to control the academic class, just as the civil power afterwards aimed at controlling the Church. By means of endowments and organization, men who might otherwise have employed themselves in misleading youth and disturbing the social order, were brought into the service of the imperial idea. ✓

The endowments of the rhetorical school at the basilica were renewed and increased by successive emperors, and the students who flocked from the provinces to Rome were put under State surveillance of a stringent kind.* At this metropolitan university, the trivium and quadrivium formed, as at Alexandria and Athens, the staple of the instruction, but these rather in the form of ascertained knowledge than of the higher speculation. The students were young, entering about the age of fourteen, and leaving at nineteen, unless when they remained to pursue their studies in the specialty of law,† for which Rome was the chief centre, although in later imperial times, especially after the division of the empire, it found formidable rivals in Berytus and Constantinople. There were ten chairs for Latin grammar, ten for Greek ; three for Latin rhetoric, three for Greek ; one, if not three, for philosophy ; two, if not four, for

* See Lecture XI., *seq.*

† So some say ; but *all* had to leave in their twentieth year, as I read the Theodosian Code.

Roman law. Professorships of medicine were added at a later period. Grammar included language, metre, criticism, and history. The students who entered were presumed to have already gone through a two years' course in schools of the Grammaticus. They were subjected, as I have said, to the discipline of the civil authorities.

Nor was the organization of the higher instruction confined to what we should call university schools in important centres. For, "in all the cities of the Roman world," says Gibbon (chap. xxiii.), "the education of youth was entrusted to masters of grammar and rhetoric, who were elected by the magistrates, maintained at the public expense, and distinguished by many lucrative and honourable privileges." To this Juvenal refers (xv. 110) in the following lines:—

"Nunc totus Graias, nostrasque habet orbis Athenas,
Gallia causicos docuit facunda Britannos,
De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thule."

In A.D. 334 Constantine, in continuation of the work of his predecessors, endeavoured, by a decree (Theod. Cod., xiii. iv. 1), further to stimulate education in the arts. Though Julian subsequently banished Christian teachers from the schools, no one doubts his interest in education. Valentinian, again, who died A.D. 375, confirmed the work of previous emperors; and, a year after his death, a decree of Gratian confirmed the work of Valentinian. Teachers—the Grammaticus, the Rhetor, and the Sophist—were

held in high respect, and they enjoyed many of the immunities and privileges afterwards conferred on the clergy.*

Nor were libraries wanting: the first public library in Rome was planned by Julius Cæsar, who appointed Varro to carry out his ideas (Sueton., "Jul. C.," 44). Cæsar's death caused operations to be suspended. Asinius Pollio succeeded in instituting one in a hall of the Temple of Freedom.† Augustus instituted two public libraries about thirty years before Christ, and others were afterwards added. Hadrian established a library in Athens.

Looking, then, at these ample public provisions, we cannot say that the decline of education was due to external causes. It was a decay from within. And here, for the better understanding of the subject, it is fitting to sketch the character and aims of the Romano-Hellenic schools.

From the time of Isocrates, and under the influence of Speusippus and Aristotle, the range of human knowledge and, consequently, the sphere of the higher intellectual activity was summed up under seven heads: grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic—these afterwards known as the trivium; and music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy—known as the quadrivium. These names were first used, apparently,

* Bursaries for promising freeborn youths were first instituted by Alexander Severus about A.D. 230 (Lamprid., "Vit. A. S.," 3).

† *Vid.* for authorities Bähr, "Gesch. d. Röm. Lit.," i. 48.

about the end of the fourth century. The terms, however, were themselves elastic, and their definitions varied from time to time; for example, grammar often meant abstract grammar alone, generally it embraced literature and criticism. Dialectic seems to me to have belonged to the higher or university instruction alone in the Romano-Hellenic schools, and included logic, metaphysics, and ethics: with Quintilian it included only logic and ethics. The seven liberal arts were studied solely in the interest of general culture and with no professional aims, with the exception of rhetoric and law, which contemplated the preparation of youth for public life and the bar. In Alexandria the professional training of the physician was a specialty, as at Berytus and Rome the professional education of the lawyer. These special aims, however, were, for long, wholly subordinated to "arts" in the widest sense. It is important to keep this in view, if we would understand the higher schools of the Greeks and Romans, and the subsequent character of mediæval education. It is not to be supposed, however, that all the youth who frequented the pre-Christian universities took the whole curriculum of study. Rhetoric and oratory chiefly occupied their attention, and, next to these, philosophical discussions.

↗ In the opinion of Quintilian, all merely formal studies, such as logic and rhetoric, were to be undertaken with a view to the solid substance of literature,

philosophy, science, and art. The realities of life, not the form of words or trick of phrase or felicity of construction, were to be the preparation for the good orator. But, by the middle of the second century, philosophy was an intellectual game, personal morality a matter of convention and prudence, and rhetoric an artifice. The departure of moral earnestness in the pursuit of abstract truth was at the same time the signal for the departure of all sound education in other subjects. Words took the place of things, forms of realities. Men who are consciously bound by cultured forms of expression have generally very little to say. It was, no doubt, the deep conviction of the futility of rhetorical and sophistical studies that led Plutarch, in the third century, so earnestly to urge practical morality, and Apollonius of Tyana and Dion, in the middle and close of the first century, to preach a moral and spiritual life. These men were, in truth, colleagues of the Christian preacher and missionary, calling men to a new faith. ✓

It was not long after the death of Plotinus that the Christian Church began to exercise a distinct influence on the education of youth. It would be an historical misconception to regard this influence as hurtful, and content ourselves with this perfunctory judgment. To the Hellenic idea as denoted by the Roman word "humanitas," the Christian idea was certainly hostile; but it is to the general influences

which led to the disruption of the empire that we must trace the inner decline of both the lower and higher schools. True, the introduction of a new conception of the ends of human life struck a blow destined to be fatal, sooner or later, to the Hellenic education; but already the schools themselves had become so degenerate, if not corrupt, that they could not have long survived without a philosophical revival amounting to a revolution. Some great new spiritual force was needed to reform society and the education of the young. That force was at hand in Christianity; and if it very early assumed a negative, if not a prohibitory, attitude to the old learning, it may be conceded that this was an inevitable step in the development of a new ethical ideal.

The Romano-Hellenic schools were, however, tenacious of life. Even in the end of the fourth century we find them still diffused over the provinces. In Africa they flourished, and in Gaul there were many well-known centres in which both the Grammaticus and the Rhetor,* and in some cases the jurist and the philosopher, taught—such as Marseilles, Narbonne, Bordeaux, Arles, Toulouse, Poitiers, Besançon, Vienne, Autun,† Lyons (founded by Caligula, A.D. 37-41),

* The edict of Gratian, in A.D. 376, enables us to fix the relative importance of the Grammaticus and Rhetor: the former was to be paid only one-half the salary of the latter.

† In Viriville's "*Hist. de l'Instruction publique*" we learn that at Autun, in A.D. 276, the walls of the porticoes of the schools were painted over with maps and dates and historical facts.

Rheims (at one time called the New Athens), and, most famous of all, Trèves, where there was also an excellent library. The interests of the professors at these centres formed a constant subject of care to the emperors,* who from time to time confirmed and extended their privileges.

If now we turn to the East, we find that intellectual activity was not so soon arrested as in the West. At the head-quarters of the empire, Constantinople, and in Athens the traditions of ancient learning still survived. Theodosius (A.D. 379) and Valentinian developed more fully the scheme of Constantine, and organized the teaching at the Eastern capital by appointing three Oratores and ten Grammatici in Latin; in Greek, five Sophistæ and ten Grammatici, one teacher of philosophy ("qui philosophiæ arcana rimetur"), and two of civil law.† Seven librarians, for arranging, preserving, and repairing manuscripts, were also added to the staff. The Auditorium was in the Capitol.‡ There were recesses, called *exedrae*, off the porticoes, provided with seats. In these the professors taught. Even down to the eighth century, classical authors were studied in the Christian school of the Octagon, along with the Fathers of the Church, and after a period of decay, the university was refounded by Michael II. (A.D.

* Guizot, "Hist. of Civilization in France," iv.

† *Vide* Theod. Cod., xiv. ix. 3.

‡ *Ibid.*, xv. i. 53.

842-867), and in it we find chairs of geometry and astronomy, as well as of Greek literature.*

Spite of the efforts of the Eastern emperors, however, learning was rare, literature and science non-existent. Law alone survived, and was alone progressive. The age which had in Libanius, the friend of Julian, its most noted man of letters, had broken for ever with the Hellenic past. Notwithstanding the fact that a new university was, in the end of the fourth century, instituted at Constantinople; that Alexandria still had a reputation, especially in medicine and mathematics; that Athens was still vivacious, if not living; that Antioch was a worthy rival of Athens; that Carthage had a high reputation; that the university schools at Rome and Berytus maintained a high level of law teaching;—spite of all these things, the soul had departed from the Eastern as well as from the Western schools: there was a universal decadence, which in half a century ended in death. The reforms attempted in the West by Ausonius (A.D. 367-383) had failed to arrest the general decline. Some think that he might have succeeded. I doubt it. The causes of decline lay too deep, and were of a kind not to be removed by authoritative regulations. All educational institutions must die which do not directly and con-

* Finlay's "Byzantine Empire," ii. 25. Again, in the eleventh century, the logic of Psellus, emanating from Constantinople, may be almost said to have made an epoch in scholastic studies.

spicuously promote either the spiritual or the material interests of men. The Romano-Hellenic schools had ceased to do either the one or the other, save in the department of law at Rome, Berytus, and Byzantium, and perhaps, of medicine in Alexandria.

NOTE.—Of the chairs endowed by Marcus Aurelius at Athens, Gräfenhahn says (iii. 29) that two were set apart for each of the four philosophical schools—Platonist, Peripatetic, Stoic, and Epicurean.

LECTURE II.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY ON EDUCATION,
AND RISE OF CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

CONSTANTINE placed the Christian cross on his banner in A.D. 312, and he convoked the first General Council of Christians at Nice in 325.

Theodosius II. ascended the throne in 408. In his Code the following words are to be found: "Pagani qui supersunt . . . quamquam jam nullos esse credamus."* This was an exaggerated, though perhaps politic, declaration; for we cannot believe that the revival of paganism under Julian, who died only forty-five years before, could have been so utterly hollow and artificial as to have been wholly submerged by the returning wave of Christianity under his successors. Still the words quoted from the Code mark the end of the struggle between the old and the new. Paganism was now dead, though pagans might still exist. But we are not to infer that the influence of Christianity on

* Mullinger's "Schools of Charles the Great," p. 3.

the schools dates only from the beginning of the fifth century, when it was everywhere triumphant. The death of Plotinus two hundred years before this date marks, it seems to me, the extinction of Romano-Hellenic ideas in the middle and higher schools. The philosophical and literary movements had exhausted themselves. There was no longer an inspiring idea and aim; and, without these, an institution is dying, if not dead, though to the eye of sense it may seem still to live. While buildings, organization, libraries, and endowments last, it may revive, but it can do so only under the influence of an antiquarian reaction (always artificial and fleeting) or of a new philosophy of life.

All genuine activity of intellect outside the Christian writers was now confined to the students of law. That the judicial mind of the Roman should find not only a congenial field for its activity, but, under the new imperial conditions, a strong and imperative demand on its powers, we can easily understand. The consolidation of the empire must have called for the exercise of all the resources of jurisprudence, and the transference of the seat of power to the East must have further stimulated the juristic mind by bringing accepted principles and precedents into relation with new emergencies. The unity of the empire, from Augustus onwards, was in point of fact merely another expression for the supremacy of authority and law over individualism and subjectivity. Indeed,

may we not say that Hellenic freedom of speculation on all subjects, human and divine, could have been allowed to exist only on condition that there was a firm controlling hand at head-quarters? Imperial unity, which meant the peace of the world, was an idea which might well have engaged the passionate support of the philanthropist, whether pagan or Christian.

Unfortunately the empire was unable to sustain itself. The burden was too great for any one central authority permanently to bear. The want of moral earnestness, the extinction of the old families, the inequalities of wealth, the decrease of the numbers of free citizens, the corrupting effects of slavery, the dissoluteness of those who ought by their example to have moralized the supreme power, the venality of the law courts, and the pressure of barbarian hordes, were gradually leading the empire to its dissolution.* The new formative force of Christianity had been meanwhile slowly winning its way, and finding its justification and opportunity in the disintegration of ancient morals, philosophies, and religions.

I have already pointed out that the decay of the schools was not due to any neglect on the part of the governing authorities. In the greatest days of Greece, education was widespread, but except in Sparta it was not organized. With the empire came

* I quite understand that the Western empire did not in the fifth century absolutely die, and that the Byzantine rule, as a purely conservative power, held the East together for a thousand years.

organization in this as in every other department of social life, and organization meant buildings, endowments, and privileges. (It is a curious but, I think, undeniable fact that from the time education became an object of solicitude to the civil power, genuine philosophic ardour and literary productivity began to decline, and a marked and steady decay of the scientific spirit was visible.) The endowments at Athens, the elaborate organization of learning at Alexandria, and the Athenæum at Rome, had not, after all, attained the end of advancing the knowledge either of nature or of mind. They were all exercising-grounds for intellect, however, and so gave a certain training and discipline to the more ambitious youth of the empire. The only studies which bore the marks of genuineness were, as I have said, law and, to some extent (in Alexandria), medicine and mathematics, and it may be confidently maintained that law and medicine preserved their vitality not because of any speculative interest in these studies, but simply because of their direct bearing on human welfare and on professional success. Grammar had lost itself in verbal criticism; dialectic had passed into verbal eristic; rhetoric had become, where it was not a mass of rules for being eloquent (necessarily futile), mere sophistic; and philosophy, except in the hands of Plotinus, had been vitiated by Oriental theosophy, had become void through the absence of ethical purpose, and in the end degraded by alliance with Egyptian magic.

The edict of Justinian which, in 529, finally suppressed the mother school of Athens, did not come a day too soon. There were, as will appear from what I have said, many causes for this decline and final extinction quite apart from Christian antipathy, and among them I would note one which specially concerns Athens, and which, though of minor importance, yet deserves mention—I mean the competition of rival lecturers. Competition in the domain of science and philosophy is not proof against vulgar motives any more than the competitions of the market-place. It very soon ceases to be a generous rivalry of intellect, and becomes a mere commercial contest. If there be one thing more certain than another, it is that pure devotion to science and philosophy is utterly incompatible with the mental disturbance and degradation involved in academic shopkeeping.

I say that the decline was not due solely to Christian antipathy. At the same time, that had largely contributed to the decline; and had Christianity assumed a purely negative attitude to the Romano-Hellenic life and culture, and done no more, it would have to be classed among the destructive powers of barbarism. But it had its positive side: it had in it a power to build up as well as to throw down. It introduced more than one new idea into the life of our race. It broadened and deepened the sentiment of the common brotherhood of man by

giving to human sympathy and love a divine sanction. But most important of all, it fortified the sense of personality. The individual was now not only a free, thinking spirit which had its personal life and personal rights; but this spirit, the true person of each individual, was now seen to be rooted in God—to be of infinite importance even in His eyes. Thus, by one stroke as it were, the personality of each man was deepened, nay consecrated, while at the same time his bond of sympathy with all other human beings was strengthened. Two opposite results were thus attained: and these two were conciliated. For the deepening of man's spiritual, personal life meant in truth the life with God, and it was in and through this life that his personality became a matter of infinite worth. But this rooting of the finite subject in the eternal and universal Reason, while giving infinite worth to the soul of each man, at the same time made impossible that insolence of individualism and self-assertion which had characterized the subjective movement among the Greeks. Man became, as a personality, much greater than the most exalted Stoic could have conceived; but by the very same act, he was taught humility, dependence, humanity, love.

As may be easily understood, that part of the new doctrine which taught that man lived for a hereafter, and that this life was a preparation for that hereafter, first told on the educational efforts of

the time. The leaders of the Church directed themselves chiefly to catechizing and instructing with a view to a city not of this world, and they did so in expectation of the early dissolution of all things. They also began to prepare ministers for the Church ; for the people had to be instructed in the new philosophy of life, and temple services had to be conducted. There was great moral activity in the new "sect ;" and, so far as education was concerned, it might fairly be said that every Christian assemblage where the Gospels were read, prayers offered, and hymns sung, was a people's school. To discharge this religious duty, and to train its ministers, was as much as the infant community could be expected to do. This it did in the catechetical and, afterwards, in the episcopal schools.*

The Christian conception of education, however, was, unfortunately (like that of old Cato), narrow. It tended steadily to concentrate and contract men's intellectual interests. The Christian did not think of the culture of the whole man. He could not consistently do so. His sole purpose was the salvation of the soul. This temporal life was only the threshold of the true life. Salvation was to be attained through abnegation of the world and through faith. Faith tended to degenerate into merely intellectual acceptance of dogma among the intelligent, and credulity

* These schools, as distinct from pagan institutions, date from the close of the second century.

and superstition among the masses. Abnegation, too, degenerated into asceticism. Hence a twofold result: the gradual substitution of alien authority, dominating a timid and cowardly subjectivity, for the free movement of reason, and the divorcement of man from this world in the interests of another.

Christianity, accordingly, found itself necessarily placed in mortal antagonism to "Humanitas" and Hellenism, and had to go through the troublous experiences of nearly fourteen hundred years before the possibility of the union of reason with authority, of religion with Hellenism, could be conceived. This antagonism was, however, for the first two centuries of the Christian era, latent. Christian bishops obtained all the instruction and shared all the learning of their time, being, however, always on their guard against its hurtful influences. Tertullian, who died A.D. 245, decides in favour of Christians attending pagan schools on grounds of necessity, but warns them to select the good and to reject the evil necessarily associated with the instruction there given. The "Apostolical Constitutions" ascribed to the middle of the fourth century are, Mr. Bass Mullinger says, hostile to the reading of pagan authors, and he quotes from them (i. 6) as follows: "Refrain from all the writings of the heathen; for what hast thou to do with strange discourses, laws, or false prophets, which, in truth, turn aside from the faith those who are weak in understanding?" and so forth. In the

East, St. Basil (died 379) took a more liberal view of Greek literature. In the West, St. Augustine (who died in 395), in his book "*De Ordine*," commends the study of grammar, rhetoric, and heathen writers generally, but only for Christian purposes and for the mental discipline they give.

As was, indeed, inevitable, theological discussions more and more occupied the active intellect of the time, to the subordination, if not total neglect, of humane letters and philosophy. The Latin and Greek classics were ultimately denounced. As the offspring of the pagan world, if not, indeed, inspired by demons, they were dangerous to the new faith. The apostasy of Julian must have convinced any doubting ecclesiastics of this danger. In 398, the Fourth Council of Carthage formally prohibited the reading of secular books even by the bishops. The learned St. Jerome (died 420) condemned the study of the classics, except for "pious uses;" and, in his later and more ascetic period, he rejoices over the growing neglect of Plato and Aristotle, although he himself, as a younger man, had taught them in his convent at Bethlehem. Even so late as the beginning of the sixth century, when Christianity had been everywhere triumphant, and there was less to fear, the learned Cassiodorus, after impressing on the monks of his foundation at Viviers the special study of the Scriptures and the Fathers, cautiously says, "The holy Fathers have passed no decree binding us to repudiate secular literature; for,

in fact, such reading prepares the mind in no slight measure for understanding the sacred writings." *

After the death of Augustine (395), the Romano-Hellenic schools, which had been steadily losing ground, may be said to have practically died out, with the exception of a few survivals in Gaul and Africa, the Mesopotamian schools of Edessa and Nisibis, and the law school of Berytus. Sidonius Apollinaris, who died in 488, says, "Young men no longer study, professors no longer have pupils; knowledge languishes and dies." In the subsequent generation, Boethius and Cassiodorus may be regarded as the last Romano-Hellenic product. The latter (born about 470), the able minister of Theodoric the Great, alarmed at the universal decline of learning, retired to Viviers in Calabria, and there, in 540, endeavoured to institute a monastic college, in which should be revived the old classical studies; but apparently without much success, at least of a permanent character.

Schools, however, of some kind were needed which should be in accordance with Christian requirements; and as early as the beginning of the third century these began to appear, though they had not yet by any means superseded the Romano-Hellenic schools. They were under the superintendence of the bishops; and those who frequented them with a view to the

* Newman's "Historical Sketches," ii. 453.

Christian ministry were presumed to have already passed through the ordinary public schools of the country. They long existed side by side with the schools of the Grammatici and the higher or university institutions, and in Alexandria, owing to the conflict there of Jewish and Gnostic opinions, they were characterized by considerable activity. These Christian catechetical schools (the first of which was founded by Pantænus in 181, at Alexandria) increased in number and efficiency at the episcopal seats. Not only were intending priests educated in them, but certain of the laity also began to receive at least elementary instruction. The Church in the end of the fourth century, after the death of Julian, gained control over education. At some of the more important of the Christian schools, also, the "trivial" course began to be given, thus superseding entirely the school of the Grammaticus. Meanwhile, St. Martin, in imitation, doubtless, of what he had seen in the East when a soldier under Julian, had, in 361, founded at Ligugé in Maine, the first monastery, and afterwards that of Tours (372), and so initiated, with a new educational conception, a new machinery. St. Basil was at this time giving a "rule" to the monasteries and schools of the East, and St. Martin may have met him.*

* The influence of Athanasius, when he took refuge in Rome in 341, was, I think, restricted to purely monastic institutions and the "religious" life. So also at Trèves.

At the very time when the ancient culture had become practically extinct (for the appearance of a man now and then with some classical tastes only served to illustrate the universal decay), we find in the East, as I have shown in the previous lecture, an endeavour to resuscitate education, at the university of Constantinople and through the monastic rule of St. Basil; and, now in the West, we encounter a contemporary movement, conceived in a much narrower spirit, towards the final supplanting of the Romano-Hellenic school by one formed on a purely Christian model. Cassian, born (probably in Marseilles) about 370, after spending many years among the hermits and cenobites of the Thebais, returned to Gaul in 404, and there founded, in imitation of the Egyptian institutions, the monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles. He contributed also to the institution of the afterwards much-celebrated monastery of Lerins on a neighbouring island.

The characteristic of the Western monastic system, as opposed to the Oriental, was that work, in the shape of farming, teaching, or charitable services, formed an essential part of its "rule." The monasteries of Cassian were schools as well as religious retreats. We find that in him the anti-Hellenic feeling in education culminated. He had completely dissociated himself from all humanistic ideas, and he entertained a profound distrust of all human learning, even when applied to Scripture. The study of the Scriptures and devo-

tional exercises constituted the intellectual as well as the religious end of the monastic life. With these exercises he united severe bodily labour. It does not appear that, at first, any, save young aspirants to the "religious" life, were taught. It was only some time after the foundation of the Benedictine Order, to which I shall immediately refer, that externs seem to have been admitted to the monastery schools. The instruction given was, as might have been expected, of the most meagre character. The boys were taught to read, merely that "they might study the Bible and understand the services; to write, in order that they might multiply copies of the sacred books and of the psalter; to understand music, that they might give with due effect the Ambrosian chant."* A little arithmetic was given in order to fit the few who had a turn that way to calculate the return of Easter and the other Church festivals. Cassian's position was quite logical. It is difficult to see how any man, with his views of human life and destiny, could countenance any learning whatsoever. The arts and sciences belonged to the vain shows and babblements of an irreligious world, and the fancies and fictions of the poets were the product of the spirits of evil who constantly haunted the steps of men, at once guiding the pen of Virgil and animating the oracle of Delphi.

* Mullinger, p. 31.

But though Cassian, notwithstanding the previous action of St. Martin, may be said to have laid the foundations of the new education, it was to St. Benedict and his order, a hundred years later, that the mediæval Church truly owed the Christian school. Born in 480 at Nursia, Benedict withdrew, after a youth remarkable even after we throw out the fabulous elements, to Monte Cassino, near Naples; and there, in 428, founded a monastery on the site of a temple of Apollo. He had educational as well as religious aims from the first, and it is to the monks of his rapidly extending order, or to the influence which their "rule" exercised on other conventual orders, such as the Columban, that we owe the diffusion of schools in the earlier half of the Middle Ages and the preservation of ancient learning. The Benedictine monks not only taught in their own monasteries, but were everywhere in demand as heads of episcopal or cathedral schools.

St. Benedict was not himself a man of learning but he was deeply impressed with the necessity of a Christian education. It was of him that Pope Gregory the Great said that he was "knowingly unknowing; wisely unlearned." Of the rules of his order, those which imposed the duty of instructing the young novices, from the age of seven to fourteen, and of transcribing manuscripts, placed the mediæval and modern world under incalculable obligations. For the monks themselves he specified no authors

except Cassian* and the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, together with such expositions thereon as "the most illustrious doctors of the orthodox faith and the Catholic Fathers had compiled."† His object was not learning, but a life of combined labour and asceticism; and even the commentaries to which I have referred were not much favoured, though generally commended. The reading prescribed to the monks had in view solely the cultivation in them of the religious life as opposed to the life of the world. These Benedictine communities multiplied rapidly over Europe, and extended the blessing of elementary, and frequently of more advanced, instruction to many who contemplated secular vocations. But always restricted; for education even of the monk by the monk was in itself a contradiction of the great aim of those who felt a call to cenobite life—*summa quies*. Even Cardinal Newman says, the monk "cared little for knowledge, even theological; or for success, even though religious. It is the character of such a man to be contented, resigned, patient, incurious; to create or originate nothing; to live by tradition."‡

Passing by the work of the greatest of the popes—Gregory—the historian of education now finds him-

* The Collationes, or Conferences of Cassian, published as a record of conversations held by him with the monks and holy men of Egypt.

† Mullinger, in "Dict. Christ. Antiq."

‡ "Historical Sketches," ii. 452.

self irresistibly attracted by Ireland. It was when the efforts of the learned Cassiodorus were failing in Calabria that Irish education received its first impulse. Mr. Mullinger is disposed to be of opinion that Irish Christian civilization dates from the time of St. Jerome, and that Ireland received its traditions straight from the East by way of Marseilles. Its scholastic foundations certainly affiliated themselves in spirit to Basil and Martin rather than to Cassian. Dr. Skene* proves, I think, that Ireland received its monastic life first through St. Ninian's monastery of Candida Casa, planted in Galloway in honour of St. Martin, and also from Wales by the agency of St. Finnian, who founded Clonard. This is certain, that the Irish or *Scoti* cultivated Greek and Latin literature when other parts of the civilized world had ceased to do so, and that they were much given to dialectic disputation. There was a living scholarship among them and a genuine speculative spirit. It was an Irish scholar, Maeldurf, who taught Aldhelm at Malmesbury in the seventh century; and the Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, was, on his assuming the primacy of England, surrounded, says Aldhelm, by Irish scholars. The celebrated Irish schools must have been founded in the beginning of the sixth century. "While almost the whole of Europe," says Döllinger, "was desolated by war, peaceful Ireland, free from the invasions of external foes, opened to

* "Celtic Scotland," ii. 2.

the lovers of learning and piety a welcome asylum." From these Irish schools went forth the founders of monasteries and bearers of learning to England, Scotland, France, and Germany.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, largely under Irish and English influence, monastery schools and convents for female education increased in number, not only in England but on the continent of Europe. But while the frequent regulations made in different parts of the Catholic world by councils show clearly enough that the Church was anxious to extend education, the schools were, as yet, sparse, and the results of their teaching very meagre except in a few famous monasteries. Efforts were from time to time made by leading ecclesiastics to institute schools, and, by the help of the monastery foundations, much was unquestionably accomplished. The main and, in the majority of cases, the sole object, however, was the education of the monkish recluse and of the regular priest. Until this was attained, the extension of education into the secular ranks was manifestly impossible. Nay, to give the merest rudiments of learning even to all the working clergy was beyond the power of the mediæval machinery. This state of things is not to be ascribed so much to the waning of the Benedictine enthusiasm as to the magnitude of the task to be accomplished, the inadequacy of the instruments available, and the confused state of Europe. Meanwhile, wherever an

ardent ecclesiastic wished to benefit his fellow-men, he not only founded a monastery, but in connection with it also, in most cases, a school. St. Maur, the chief of Benedict's apostles, and St. Columban, both towards the close of the sixth century, and St. Boniface in the eighth, were in this way powerful agents in the civilization of Europe. Even when their schools were of little importance, the monasteries were as lights in dark places. The mere example of men leading a religious, studious, orderly, and industrious life was itself the best possible education to the semi-barbarians by whom the young communities were surrounded.

In England, meanwhile, under the primacy of the learned Theodore of Tarsus (668-690), and the teaching of Irish immigrants, education made considerable progress in the seventh and eighth centuries. Out of this revival came Ælbert, the teacher of York School, his pupil Alcuin, and also the Venerable Bede, who died in 735. Bede says, according to Newman, that in his time there were monks in England who knew Latin and Greek as well as they knew their mother-tongue; but, according to Mullinger, this was said by him only of Albinus, who was taught Greek by Theodore. Bede himself was the most learned and scholarly fruit of the revival. "I spent my whole life," he says, "in the same monastery [Jarrow, in Northumberland], and, while attentive to the rule of my order and the service of the Church, my constant pleasure lay in learning,

or teaching, or writing." Alcuin, also, was an excellent product of the learning of his time. In himself, indeed, he was a summary of it. Its character and its scope as well as its limitations were all well exemplified in him. We shall meet him shortly at the court of Charlemagne. It was to Theodore of Tarsus and his school at Canterbury, quite as much as to the Irish monks, that the revival in England seems to have been due. The "Greek" period at St. Galle was, I think, short-lived, and the knowledge professed quite elementary.

In the seventh and eighth centuries, again, there was a revival in Spain, but the limits of it were very restricted. The chief fruit of it was *Isidorus* (*lumen Hispaniæ*), who died in 636, and whose long-celebrated "*Origines Etymologicæ*"—an encyclopædia of the learning of the time—formed one of the leading text-books of the higher education all through the Middle Ages.

Cardinal Newman, through his enthusiastic admiration of certain monasteries and monks, allows himself to speak of the state of learning in Europe in the first half of the Middle Ages, in terms which will not bear a moment's investigation. The same remark applies to Montalembert. Progress was certainly being made, and some conventual institutions were, in truth, colleges of "all learning," as then understood. But even in the best of these education seldom went beyond the *trivium*;

and even this was pursued in a barren and arid spirit. Grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic were certainly studied, but chiefly in bald epitomes. The cost of manuscript books, much enhanced by the high price of parchment during the Middle Ages,* compelled the monks to have recourse to dictation, the scholars writing down on tablets and learning by heart what they were taught. Nothing, of course, was questioned. The youth of ancient Greece and of the earlier empire were brought into contact with the *substance* of literature, music, and eloquence in their elementary and grammar schools; and those who continued their studies in the higher schools continued to occupy themselves with all the *realities* of knowledge. The schools of the Middle Ages, on the contrary, in the spirit of the Carthaginian decree, forswore literature and reality, and were disciplined by the merely formal and instrumental, and this in its most barren shape. The only "realities," indeed, were Scripture truth and the writings of the Fathers; and the higher education was practically confined to these.† A few monks, doubtless, especially in England, took a wider sweep, and studied all that was contained in the great text-books of the Middle Ages from the sixth

* Caused by the occupation of Egypt by the Saracens.

† "Cæteræ igitur quæcunque notiones ac scientiæ haud aliter monachis erant in pretio, nisi quatenus ad talem finem (ad exercitium christianarum religiosarumque virtutum) referebantur et quatenus sibi ipsis inservire poterant ut præfatam metam attingerent" (Mabillon, i. p. 5, cited by Cramer in his "Gesch. der Erz. u. des Unt. in dem Nied.")

to the thirteenth century, viz. Boethius, Isidorus, and Martianus Capella.* They thus maintained the tradition of the seven liberal arts.

On the whole, the episcopal schools or seminaries, and the monastery schools, both of which had promised well in the sixth century, had not fulfilled their promise. Indeed, they had retrograded in the seventh and eighth, except at a few centres in England, though their number had increased. Literature, philosophy, and science were all alike forgotten. Even the language of the Church—Latin—was badly taught, and had woefully degenerated. It is precisely at this time that we find the beginnings of a reform.

* Generally denounced by the European Church as containing the seeds of scepticism, but in great favour with the Irish monks.

LECTURE III.

CHARLEMAGNE AND THE NINTH CENTURY.

CHRODEGANG, Bishop of Metz (742-766), endeavoured to reform the episcopal schools by setting an example of a strict canonical organization in connection with his Cathedral Church. But the influence of the canonical rule (a modification of the Benedictine*), introduced by him, was for long very restricted in its range, and we are entitled to say that the education of Europe was in a barbarous state when Charles the Great (born 742, died 814), Emperor of the West, and crowned Emperor of the Romans by the pope, endeavoured to revive learning. "The study of letters," he said, "had been well-nigh extinguished by the neglect of his ancestors."† St. Boniface, coming from England, had done his best to reform an episcopate and Church already flagrantly corrupt, while at the same time extending the bounds of Christianity among the Teutonic races. It was the reform and

* Adopted in 816-17 by the General Council of Aachen after Charles's death. For some of the rules, see Skene, ii. 6.

† "Constitutio de emendatione librorum," etc., Baluze, i. 204, 205, cited by Mr. Mullinger, p. 69.

extension of the Church, however, and only incidentally of the school, that engaged his zeal. Charlemagne, as a boy, had been a witness of his work, and when he ascended the throne he gave effect to many of his ecclesiastical views. For subjecting the transalpine churches to the pope, Charles has been blamed, but only by those (it seems to me) whose historical imagination is too weak to enable them to understand the then state of Europe.

Charles early saw that without a more thorough education of the priesthood, reforms, however well conceived, would be evanescent, and he, accordingly, devoted himself to the reorganization and extension of the episcopal and monastery schools. It is from his capitularies, and his life by Eginhard (Einhard), that we obtain the most trustworthy information of the state of education towards the close of the eighth century, when the reforms began.

In one of these capitularies he complains of the uncouth and illiterate diction of the letters which he received even from monasteries of good standing. He found also that a large number of the manuscripts of the Scriptures were almost undecipherable owing to the utter ignorance of the monkish copyists. Charlemagne himself began to learn to write, it is said, after he was on the throne.* To his court at

* I think this must have reference to writing on parchment with pen and ink, and that he was already able to write with the style on waxen tablets. [Since I wrote this, I see that the suggestion has been made by others, but that Mullinger rejects it.]

Aix he invited such men of learning as could be found. Leidrade of Noricum and Alcuin of York were his chief counsellors—the latter occupying a post which we should now designate Minister of Public Instruction and of Public Worship.

In connection with the emperor's efforts, a story is told which has a legendary sound, but for which there seems to be sufficient evidence to justify our repeating it, as it is narrated by Bulaeus, on the authority of a treatise published about half a century after Charlemagne's death. The incident is said to have been communicated to the writer by the son of one of Alcuin's pupils. When Alcuin was already at Charlemagne's court in Aix-la-Chapelle, two Scoti, called Claud Clement and John Melrose (so called from the town of Melrose*), arrived at the capital in the company of some English traders. Amidst the ordinary cries of the market-place the townspeople were astonished to hear the two Scotsmen calling out, "If any one wants knowledge, let him come to us and get it; for we have it to sell" (*Siquis sapientiæ cupidus est, veniat ad nos, et accipiat eam: nam venalis est apud nos*). The people thought

* Notwithstanding the special mention of the town of Melrose, both the Scots were probably Irishmen. There was a Columbite monastery founded by Aidan in the eighth century, at Melrose, which was destroyed about 834. It is well known that Irishmen or Scoti were always to be found in the monasteries of Scotland as well as England. It is not impossible, however, that John may not only have come from Melrose, but have been an Angle. See Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. 5.

the men mad. But the incident having reached the monarch's ears, he sent for Clement and Melrose, and asked them whether they really had knowledge to sell, and what they asked for it. They replied that they had, and that its price was "a place to teach it in, pupils to learn it, and needful food and raiment." Charlemagne accepted their services, established a schola in his palace under Clement and Alcuin, and taking Melrose with him to his Italian wars, settled him as superintendent of a schola at Pavia.

This is the legendary origin of the Palace or Palatine School for members of the court, and their children, and indeed open to all who were desirous of obtaining education. The researches of Dom Pitra seem to show that Charlemagne's Palace School had been anticipated by a royal school at Chartres under Clotaire II. This school was taught by Betharius, a Roman of good family, who had been trained at Viviers, the school of Cassiodorus. He became Bishop of Chartres in 594.

Apart from legend, we know that Charles met Alcuin at Padua, in Italy, where he had been sent on an important embassy from York, and urged him, then and afterwards, to come to his court at Aachen and carry out educational reforms. This invitation was accepted by Alcuin in 782. Alcuin was the pupil of Ælbert, Archbishop of York, and Egbert, scholasticus there, and was himself headmaster or scholasticus of the Monastery School at York at the time that he

yielded to Charles's solicitations to leave his native country. Peter of Pisa seems to have held some kind of tutorial post at the court of Charles's father, but he was growing old and had little or nothing to do with the reformation now set on foot by the emperor, with the help of Alcuin.

In my last lecture I adverted to the revival in England, under the Greek Primate Theodore, seconded by Scots immigrant monks. The most important fruit of that revival was Bede, the Northumbrian, to whom I referred in the last lecture, and who died in 735. Albinus, for a time teacher of the York school, a learned man, was the friend and coadjutor of Bede. He was succeeded by Egbert, the teacher of Alcuin. Alcuin was thus one of the last products of the English revival, and he now transferred his activities to the Continent of Europe.

After establishing the Palace School,* designed largely for the laity, and letting it be understood that those who distinguished themselves as scholars would receive promotion in the state, however humble their origin, Charles took up the large question of education in his empire generally.

Under Alcuin's advice, he issued instructions for the reform of schools in 787. As this has been justly regarded as a document of great significance in

* For a most interesting and graphic account of the school, I would refer the reader to Mullinger's "Schools of Charles the Great."

educational history, I shall here quote it, taking Mr. Mullinger's translation* :—

“Charles, by the grace of God, King of the Franks and of the Lombards, and Patrician of the Romans, to Bangulfus, abbot, and to his whole congregation and the faithful committed to his charge: Be it known to your devotion, pleasing to God, that in conjunction with our faithful we have judged it to be of utility that, in the bishoprics and monasteries committed by Christ's favour to our charge, care should be taken that there shall be not only a regular manner of life and one conformable to holy religion, but also the study of letters, each to teach and learn them according to his ability and the divine assistance. For even as due observance of the rule of the house tends to good morals, so zeal on the part of the teacher and the taught imparts order and grace to sentences; and those who seek to please God by living aright should also not neglect to please him by right speaking. It is written, ‘By thine own words shalt thou be justified or condemned;’ and although right doing be preferable to right speaking, yet must the knowledge of what is right precede right action. Every one, therefore, should strive to understand what it is he would fain accomplish; and this right understanding will be the sooner gained according as the utterances of the tongue are free from error. And if false speaking is to be shunned

* The original is also quoted by Mabillon, part i. c. 9.

by all men, especially should it be shunned by those who have elected to be the servants of the truth. During past years we have often received letters from different monasteries, informing us that at their sacred services the brethren offered up prayers on our behalf; and we have observed that the thoughts contained in these letters, though in themselves most just, were expressed in uncouth language, and while pious devotion dictated the sentiments, the unlettered tongue was unable to express them aright. Hence there has arisen in our minds the fear lest, if the skill to write rightly were thus lacking, so too would the power of rightly comprehending the sacred Scriptures) be far less than was fitting; and we all know that though verbal errors be dangerous, errors of the understanding are yet more so. We exhort you, therefore, not only not to neglect the study of letters, but to apply yourselves thereto with perseverance and with that humility which is well pleasing to God; so that you may be able to penetrate with greater ease and certainty the mysteries of the Holy Scriptures. For as these contain images, tropes, and similar figures, it is impossible to doubt that the reader will arrive far more readily at the spiritual sense according as he is the better instructed in learning. Let there, therefore, be chosen for this work men who are both able and willing to learn, *and also desirous of instructing others*; and let them apply themselves to the work with a zeal equalling

the earnestness with which we recommend it to them.

“It is our wish that you may be what it behoves the soldiers of the Church to be,—religious in heart, learned in discourse, pure in act, eloquent in speech ; so that all who approach your house, in order to invoke the Divine Master or to behold the excellence of the religious life, may be edified in beholding you, and instructed in hearing you discourse or chant, and may return home rendering thanks to God most high.

“Fail not, as thou regardest our favour, to send a copy of this letter to all thy suffragans and to all the monasteries ; and let no monk go beyond his monastery to administer justice, or to enter the assemblies and the voting-places. Adieu.”

Teachers of singing, arithmetic, and grammar were about the same time imported from Rome that they might visit the monasteries and help to revive the teaching.

In 789 Charles again sent out an edict to the heads of monasteries and to the clergy, enjoining them to look out for boys to train as priests and monks, not only among the sons of slaves as heretofore, but of freemen. He further requires that in connection with every episcopal see and every monastery there shall be a school for instruction in the psalms, singing, notation, counting, and the Latin tongue, and that the pupils shall be supplied with accurately transcribed text-books.*

* Mullinger and Viriville.

Alcuin, having resigned the mastership of the Palace School, was appointed to the abbacy of St. Martin de Tours in 796, and raised the school there to so high a reputation, that scholars flocked to it from all parts of the Continent, as well as from England and Ireland. Alcuin's influence was thereby greatly increased, but, while it was of a kind doubtless to suit his time, it was certainly not of a liberal character, owing to his distrust of all pagan literature. He was an estimable man, and a good administrator, but of no original genius, and cast in a monastic mould.

By appointing Leidrade of Noricum to the see of Lyons (798), and Theodulf of Italy to that of Orleans (794), Charles secured for his educational schemes potent ministers under Alcuin. Theodulf not only founded important schools, but he issued to the clergy of his diocese an order to institute schools in the burghs and villages where the faithful might receive *elementary instruction gratuitously*.

The emperor was fond of music, and promoted the reform of Church singing, introducing the Gregorian chants, and, it is said, also the organ. His services to literature include a collection of Gothic songs and verses; and a collection of all the best passages from the Fathers which he appointed to be read in churches has to be specially noted (Capitulary of 788). In law he endeavoured to apply the Theodosian Code. He is also said to have studied the works of Vitruvius,

and with his own hand to have prepared the design of the imperial palace.

I have said that Alcuin's views of education were of a narrow and monastic character. This statement has, however, to be slightly qualified. His position—at least, in the vigour of his manhood—was more nearly allied to that of St. Augustine than to that of the "Apostolical Constitutions." In one of his letters (quoted by Specht, p. 47) he writes, "The knowledge of worldly sciences is not to be despised, since they lay the foundation of further study. Therefore ought children even of the tenderest age to be instructed in grammar and the other disciplines of subtle world-wisdom, in order that they may be in a position, as on the steps of the ladder, to climb the highest peaks of evangelical perfection." In his old age, however, he proscribed Virgil. His most distinguished pupil, too, Rabanus Maurus, who did vigorous work in educational reform, inherited similar views. In his book on the education of the clergy, he quotes St. Augustine with full concurrence. In so far as ancient studies were to be followed at all, they were to be followed only as a propædæutic to the study of the Holy Scriptures.

The reforms initiated by the great emperor were not arrested by Alcuin's death in 804, and his own death ten years later. Lewis the Pious, an admirable, though unwarlike prince, continued to push forward reforms, especially the improvement of the monastic

discipline. The Council of Chalons had, in 813, enjoined the foundation of additional schools for the cultivation of learning and the study of the Scriptures. In 817 the Council of Aachen required that only those who had taken the monastic vows (*oblati*) should be admitted to the schools within the monastery walls (*scholæ claustrales*), the regular clergy and others being confined to the "exterior" schools. The episcopal schools also received a great impulse. Among the most famous of these were the schools of Orleans and Rheims: a certain tradition of learning was for long preserved at the latter, and about the year 1000 it was, under Gerbert, celebrated. But the monastery schools were always the most learned, and some of these attained a high reputation. The great Abbey of St. Riquier had a library of 230 volumes. The most famous of the "exterior" schools was that afterwards established at Fleury-sur-Loire by Charles the Bald in 855. It was attended by laymen. Pope John VIII., in a Bull of 878, speaks of it in complimentary terms. Such was the work done under the influence given by Charlemagne.

Some seem to think that by the constitution of the Palace School, and the extension and reform of important schools at Bologna, Pavia, and Paris, Charles contributed to lay the foundations of the university movement three hundred years later. For at these schools it became, through imperial influence, the custom for laymen to attend who had no inten-

tion of preparing themselves for ecclesiastical life. The revival of secular quadrivial studies at these places and the prospect of civil employment made education more attractive to the lay adolescent mind. They had all the characteristics of "public" schools. Bulaeus considers that Charlemagne had distinctly before his mind such schools as had existed in Alexandria and Athens, and subsequently under the Roman empire at Rome, Constantinople, and Berytus, and which were practically privileged and endowed universities. The idea which he aimed at realizing was, according to this view, that of a *studium generale*: "not that he deprived monks of the licence to teach and profess, though he certainly limited it, from a clear view that that variety of sciences, human and profane, which secular academies require is inconsistent with the profession and devotion of ascetics ; and accordingly, in conformity to the spirit of their institute, it was —his wish that the lesser schools should be set up or retained in the bishops' palaces and in monasteries, while he prescribed the subjects which they were to teach. The case was different with the schools — which are higher and public, and which, instead of multiplying, he confined to certain central and celebrated spots, not more than three in his whole — empire—Paris, Pavia, and Bologna." * I can find no evidence that Charles or his advisers had so large an aim ; but certainly one of the results of his action,

* Bulaeus, as quoted by Newman, cap. xiii. of "Historical Studies."

especially his concentration of eminent teachers at important centres, might have suggested to others a *studium generale*.

And we may even say that, had the time been propitious, the central schools which Charles endeavoured to institute for the study of the whole circle of the arts and sciences as then known might have developed into universities of the old Hellenic, Roman, and Alexandrian type. It is certain, however, that such institutions of the higher learning could not, in the ninth century, have permanently held their own in Europe without large permanent endowments as well as a continuance of powerful royal protection. These, indeed, are the two conditions of the maintenance of learning in a state—endowments and privilege. By "learning" we mean the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, and without reference to its value in the economic market. The enthusiasm of a few may initiate an institution; but law, privilege, organization, and endowment can alone make it endure. We shall in the sequel see that the existence of the modern university was made possible, spite of the lack of endowments, only by the introduction into them of a new idea—the economic. They may be said to have produced commodities which mankind needed for daily use, and sold them. Charles had many communications with the East, and might have been influenced, it has been suggested, by the University of Constantinople. But, as it was nearly half

a century after his death that this university was refounded by Michael III., we may conclude that at the height of Charles's activity it had shared in the general decadence of education.

The efforts of Charlemagne were imitated in England, half a century after the emperor's death, by Alfred, who died in the first year of the tenth century. He himself tells us that he knew no priest south of the Thames who understood the meaning of the Latin prayers which he used. Nor did England stand alone in its ignorance, for though Latin was the universal language of the Church, not one priest in a thousand in Spain could at that time write a simple letter in the Latin tongue. I suppose that the term "priests," as used by Alfred, is not intended to include monks; for, notwithstanding the destruction caused by the Danish invasions, many Benedictine monasteries had continued to be centres of a restricted, certainly, but still genuine study of Latin and the Scriptures. Very restricted it must have been, if we are to believe Alfred himself, who says, "Formerly men came hither from foreign lands to seek for instruction; and now, when we desire it, we can only obtain it from abroad." * The king himself was a scholar, and the father of English prose. He is said to have gone to the Benedictine school at Oxford to complete his

* Green's "Hist.," i. 79.

studies in dialectic, rhetoric, music, and versification.*³⁸

He also instituted a Palace School, calling to his assistance foreign scholars—Grimbold from Normandy, and Scotus Erigena who had by this time left the Palace School of Charlemagne, to which he had succeeded. In his preface to the translation of the pastoral of St. Gregory, he urges all his people, where circumstances in any way admitted of it, to give their children at least the elements of learning.

Owing to the social state of England and the renewed invasions of the Danes, the schools, which Alfred stimulated into activity, soon declined. His attempted revival was, like that of Charlemagne on the Continent, short-lived in its effects; and we find Archbishop Lancfranc in 1089, under the Norman rule, issuing decrees for the reorganization of the schools, which had fallen into decay—decrees which contemplate the instruction of both rich and poor.

We have been speaking of education in its external aspects. Let us now look for a little at the inner work of the mediæval schools during the centuries which we have been passing in review.

* This, however, is now, I fear, to be regarded as a later interpolation in Asser's "Life of Alfred," in the interests of the antiquity of Oxford University.

LECTURE IV.

INNER WORK OF CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

(A.D. 450-1100).

IN a previous lecture I called your attention to the rise of the episcopal schools for the preparation of the Christian clergy (first in Alexandria), and pointed out that, with the decay and final disappearance of the Romano-Hellenic institutions, these schools necessarily grew in importance and in the range of their teaching. When these took final shape, the master, who was a canon of the cathedral, was called Scholasticus, and the chancellor of the cathedral exercised, speaking generally, a certain supervision over them and any other schools for the clergy that might arise in the diocese. For many churches had at a later period connected with them "foundation" schools, which were for the most part also collegiate institutions. These cathedral or episcopal schools, no less than the monastery schools, received a powerful impulse from the activity of Charles and Lewis. Orleans, indeed, was so famous that, three hundred

years after, it grew into a university of law ; and had it not been for the more favourable conditions, political and geographical, of Paris, we should probably have had to look back to a university of Rheims as the mother of European universities.

The monastic schools, however, from the time of Cassian onwards, always took the lead in education. Speaking generally, the episcopal schools occupied a lower place.

In reviewing the instruction given at these schools, it may be desirable, for greater clearness, to adopt the modern division of education into Primary, Secondary, and Higher.

PRIMARY INSTRUCTION.

Instruction began about the age of seven. The alphabet, written on tables or leaves, was learned by heart by the children, then syllables and words. The first reading-book was the Latin psalter, and this was read again and again until it could be said by heart, and any failure on the part of choir-boys to recite or sing accurately was severely punished. The psalter was read and learned by heart, at first without being understood ; and numerous priests, and even monks, were content all their lives with the mere sound of the Latin words, which they could both read and recite, but did not understand.

Writing followed reading. There were two stages. In the first, the boys were taught to write with a style

on wax-covered tablets, imitating copies set by the master; and in the second, or advanced stage, they learned to write with pen and ink on parchment—an accomplishment highly prized in days when books were multiplied by hand-copying.

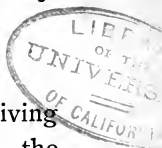
Singing of the Church services was also taught to all the boys, and great importance was attached to this, especially after the time of Charlemagne, who introduced the Gregorian chants north of the Alps. The elements of arithmetic were also taught, but merely with a view to the calculation of Church days and festivals.

Latin was begun very early (apparently immediately after the psalter was known), with the learning by heart of declensions and conjugations and lists of vocables. The rule was to use Latin in the school in conversing. But it is quite clear, from the known ignorance of the clergy, that this was not always done. Probably it was attempted only in the "inner" claustral schools. It is specially noted of the school which stood among the highest in reputation—that of St. Galle—that all, save some inferior boys, spoke Latin with each other in the school. In the eleventh century, if not earlier, Latin conversation-books, having reference to the ordinary events of life, were not only read, but, like everything else, learned by heart. The merest elements, however, of Latin were alone taught, except in the case of monks.

SECONDARY INSTRUCTION.

The higher instruction *generally* aimed at giving the pupil a knowledge of the seven liberal arts—the trivium and quadrivium of the Romano-Hellenic schools. Compendiums were written and learnt; these, however, were very often so dry and brief, that the pupil knew nothing more than the name and contents of the Arts studies. The instruction was arranged in the form of question and answer.

But during the years devoted to what we now call *secondary* instruction, the time of the student was devoted mainly to the Latin language. Grammar was regarded as the basis of all other studies. In the court of Charlemagne there was a much-admired painting, which represented the seven liberal arts, and in which Grammar was represented as the queen, sitting under the tree of knowledge with a crown on her head, a knife in her right hand with which to scratch out errors, and a thong in her left. The thong was supposed to symbolize the supremacy of grammar in the schools; it may, however, have symbolized the discipline of the time. That grammar—which was defined as the art of explaining poets and historians, and of speaking and writing correctly—should occupy the greater part of the student's time was to be expected, as Latin was to all a foreign tongue, which they were expected to make completely their own. The grammars most approved down even



to the thirteenth century were those of Donatus and Priscian—the book first used being the *Ars Minor*, written in question and answer by the former writer: few went beyond this book. Numerous abridgments of Donatus were made, and widely used. The teachers had, of course, to explain the meaning of the grammatical rules in the vernacular. Books were scarce, and in the majority of cases the teacher alone had a copy of the book from which he taught. This he dictated, and the boys wrote down what he said on their waxen tablets, and learnt it by heart with a loud voice. Hence the word *legere* came to be used as equivalent to *docere*. The boys, when they could write with pen and ink, transferred what was on their tablets to parchment, and so gradually wrote their own textbook. The more advanced studied prosody.

The youths then (at least after the eleventh century, if not before) wrote down and learned by heart the fables of Æsop, and collections of maxims and proverbs. After this, Virgil was usually the textbook, and was handled in the same style. Christian poets such as Juvencus and Sedulius, and, above all, Prudentius, were widely read. But even the poets were used mainly for grammatical purposes. Ovid sometimes found his way into the schools. In some of the more celebrated institutions we find, in the tenth century, other Roman poets prescribed, and even in the eighth century these were read in the school of York, as we know from Alcuin.

The master in the earlier stages of the higher instruction explained the Latin authors in the vernacular; but the more advanced scholars had explanations given them in Latin, and were required to show that they understood the author by rendering him in Latin prose. The main object always kept in view was a practical command of the Latin tongue—not literature or art. Vocabularies of the less common words were introduced as the boys advanced. It was not in all schools, but only in the more advanced, and especially those under the influence of the Irish or Scots school of monks, that such authors as Virgil were tolerated.

In the eighth and ninth centuries we find mention made of Greek, but there is no evidence that any but the most elementary knowledge of this language was possessed, except by a monk here and there. In the Irish monasteries more attention was paid to Greek, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries. Quotations from Greek authors are no evidence of a knowledge of Greek. These were generally to be found in some of the Fathers, from whom they were appropriated. Even Scotus Erigena's knowledge of Greek was very limited. His knowledge of Plato was apparently chiefly obtained from such Latin translations as existed.

Written exercises (called *dictamina*) were regularly shown up in both prose and verse in the more advanced classes. A good metrical exercise seems to

have been regarded in the more learned schools as the highest kind of linguistic accomplishment.

Rhetoric, to which so much importance was attached in the Romano-Hellenic schools, received little or no attention. In so far as it was studied, it was taught by means of such of Cicero's writings as were known, especially "*Rhetorica ad Herennium*." The writing of letters and public documents in good form was, however, practised and reduced to a system. Young ecclesiastics looked forward to employment as secretaries at royal courts and in noble houses, and hence the attention paid to the teaching of correspondence. In a letter of importance, the following order of composition had to be observed, viz. *Salutatio*; *Captatio*; *Benevolentia*; *Narratio*; *Petitio*; *Conclusio*.

There were, of course, among the monks, as among teachers now, some who had a larger conception of their work than others. John of Salisbury, in giving an account of the teaching of a distinguished monk of the beginning of the twelfth century—Bernard de Chartres—tells us that he accustomed his pupils to apply the rules of grammar to the texts they read, that he directed their attention to delicacies of language and beauty of expression, to the aptness of terms and metaphors, and the disposition of the argument. He criticized the varieties of style of different authors, and took advantage of allusions to give much collateral instruction. He also exercised his pupils daily in writing Latin prose and verse, and required

them to learn fine passages by heart. This, it will be seen, was applied rhetoric as well as grammar, and indeed constitutes what we now understand by training in the humanities. No doubt this was an exceptional school, and it existed after the university movement had begun. It is certain that no better teaching than this of Bernard flourished in the baccalaurean classes of the universities either in the twelfth or any succeeding century until the revival of letters, if even then.

The study of law, the Theodosian Code—especially after the seventh century—and of such canon law as had grown up, was prosecuted in some monasteries. Ecclesiastics, as I have stated, were employed at courts, and in the houses of the nobility, as secretaries and notaries, and it was worth while for those who had a leaning towards legal studies to prepare themselves for such offices.

HIGHER INSTRUCTION.

The elements of logic were sometimes taught in the secondary or trivial course, but, practically, under the name of dialectic, logic was a quadrivial study. Dialectic was taught out of the books which I have named in a previous lecture as the great repertories of the higher instruction in the Middle Ages, viz. Cassiodorus, Isidorus, Martianus Capella, and Boethius. Latin versions of the Categories and Porphyry's Introduction formed the utmost

range of the study, so far as it was Aristotelian, until the twelfth century. Alcuin's "Compendium of Logic" gives the course of instruction in the best schools. In the eleventh century, dialectic began to receive more attention, especially at the great school of Rheims, and logical disputations began to be practised among the pupils. Complaints, indeed, were made by some that dialectic regarding Scripture was in more repute than the words of Scripture itself.

The traditionary quadrivium—arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy—were regarded, in the Middle Ages, as being all branches of mathematics.* Ordinary calculation, as I have stated, was taught in the elementary stage of education. The arithmetic and astronomy of the most advanced was, as a rule, only such a knowledge of both as enabled the scholar to calculate Easter and the other festival days of the Church. The more capable, however, studied arithmetic as that is contained in the treatise of Boethius ("Institutio Arithmetica"). The want of the Arabic numerals made arithmetic no easy task for the pupil.

Astronomy consisted in a knowledge of the names and courses of the stars, constellations, etc.

Music in the quadrivial course exhausted all that was known on the subject, and the range of study may be seen in "Boethius de Musica," the great authority for a thousand years. There is a sentence

* Rabanus Maurus, as quoted by Specht, p. 127.

in Boethius which anticipates the modern physics of sound.

The geometry and mensuration taught was very elementary until the twelfth century. The furthest range of the study did not exceed four books of Euclid, and it might rather be called geography, as contained in the sixth book of the encyclopædia of Martianus Capella. In a few schools it embraced all that was known of the physical features of the earth, of races of men, and of natural history.

All these studies had in view one object, the proper understanding of Holy Scripture. The study of the Scriptures themselves, and of such of the Fathers as could be got (or extracts from them), was the governing subject in the whole scholastic system. Every study was estimated by its bearing on the Bible, and limited by the needs of the theologian.

It is not to be supposed that quadrivial studies were much pursued. It would be a mistake to conclude that even trivial studies were prosecuted in the Romano-Hellenic sense. Speaking of Cambridge at so late a period as the first decades of the twelfth century, Mr. Mullinger sums up the work of the school there as composed of the elements of Priscian or Donatus, and the reading of some portions of Terence, Boethius, and Orosius; and, so far as I can see, this meagre diet was the usual curriculum of schools up to the rise of universities. The much

and deservedly lauded course of instruction given by Gerbert at Rheims, about 1000 A.D., seems to have been simply a full and extended trivium. The course was as follows: First, dialectic, including translations of the "Isagoge" of Porphyry, and Aristotle on the Predicaments; "De Interpretatione;" Cicero's "Topics," and Boethius on the same subject; and, finally, the doctrine of the syllogism. Before going to rhetoric Gerbert read Virgil, Statius, Terence, Juvenal, Persius, Horace, and Lucan, and, thereafter, introduced his students to rhetoric. A curriculum so full as this is recorded because it was quite exceptional, as was the man who gave it.

Speaking generally, the course of instruction which I have sketched above is to be regarded as the ideal course, here and there, and at different times, realized in one department of knowledge or another. I doubt if it would be possible to name one school, save, perhaps, that of St. Galle, where the full curriculum actually existed. There was, however, an approximation to it, but this of a fluctuating character, at other centres, such as Fulda, Lerins, Orleans, Rheims, Canterbury, and York. It was at Galle chiefly that Greek was studied, and those who devoted themselves to the language went by the name of *fratres Hellenici*.

It was customary for youths who had exhausted the instruction given at their own monasteries, to resort to the few more learned centres. / Perhaps the

most important of these in England in the eighth and ninth centuries was York. We have it on Alcuin's authority that the library there contained the works of Aristotle, Pliny, Cicero, Virgil, Statius, and Lucan, and he himself frequently quotes from these authors, and from Ovid, Horace, and Terence. But the expression "works" does not necessarily mean *all* the works.

The only institution which for a time was rather aristocratic in its character was that of Tours. It is not an exaggeration to say, that both in the exterior monastic and the episcopal schools the sons of serfs and nobles might often be found sitting side by side.

I have already referred more than once to the great text-books of the Middle Ages—the writings of Capella, Boethius, and Isidore. As a matter of fact, they were not text-books, but authorities—consulted by many, read by few even of the best educated. I think a more detailed account of these authors than is usually given will help to give clearer notions of the range of mediæval knowledge.

Martianus Capella.—This book, if we deduct the space occupied by notes, covers three hundred pages 12mo, in the edition before me.* It consists of eight books, but goes generally by a name strictly applicable only to the two first books, viz. "De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii." It is interspersed with verses,


* Edition by Eyssenhardt, 1866.

and Boethius is supposed to have imitated its structure in his "*De Consolatione Philosophiæ*." The first two books are an allegory, and may be supposed to have a deeper meaning than appears on the surface. *Mercury* wishes to marry, and selects Wisdom as his bride; but she having resolved to remain, like her sister Minerva, a virgin, he addresses himself next to *Psyche*, the soul, daughter of *Entelechy* and the sun; but *Virtue* informs him that the soul is already enchained by the bonds of *Cupid*. He consults *Apollo*, who recommends him to marry *Philology*, the daughter of *Erudition*. As *Philology* is of terrestrial origin, it is necessary to obtain the sanction of *Jove* to the misalliance; which being obtained, the *Muses* and the *Graces*, in the second book, celebrate the union—which is duly completed in the *Milky Way* in presence of *Jupiter*. The seven liberal arts treated of by the seven bridesmaids form the subjects of the succeeding books, the third treating of the grammatic art, the fourth of the dialectic, the fifth of the rhetorical, the sixth of geometry, the seventh of arithmetic, the eighth of astronomy, the ninth of music. There is a great deal of ingenuity in the book, and some speculative power. The style is forced, fanciful, and turgid. *Capella* died probably at the beginning of the sixth century.

The book by which Boethius is best known is his "*De Consolatione Philosophiæ*," written in the prison to which *Theodoric* had sent him. He is a pagan

philosopher, with a tincture of Christian ideas. Omitting the treatises which are doubtful, his works, in addition to the "De Consolatione," consist chiefly of translations of Aristotle, and commentaries on the "Topics" of Cicero. He translates the "Prior and Posterior Analytics," the "Topics," and the "Sophistici Elenchi." He also writes an introduction to categorical syllogisms, and other logical treatises. Had the whole of Boethius' works been in the hands of the teachers of the Middle Ages, the course of higher instruction would have been, or at least might have been, of a very solid character. It was only through what had survived of Boethius that Aristotle was known at all. He was executed in 525.

The twenty books of *Etymologiæ* by Isidore of Seville (died 636) is, I suppose, the first encyclopædia. The first book treats of the seven liberal arts; the second is devoted to rhetoric, the third to arithmetic. The remaining books take a wide and encyclopædic range, and embrace medicine, geography, Biblical criticism, Church history, laws, languages, a Latin lexicon, a treatise on man, on natural phenomena, agriculture, mineralogy, etc. They constitute a valuable record of the state of knowledge at the beginning of the seventh century.



Organization and Discipline.—There were two schools and two classes of pupils in the monasteries

—the inner, or claustral school, in which the boys who were devoted by their parents to a monkish life (*oblati*) were taught, and the outer school, frequented chiefly by those intending to fill the office of parochial priest, or preparing themselves for secular appointments. These outer schools were also attended by some for education solely, without ulterior reference to any specific ecclesiastical or secular function. The cathedral schools were less exclusive in their character, and the Church funds were used for their maintenance.

In the inner schools the *oblati* (after the time of Charlemagne kept apart) were maintained, as well as educated, gratuitously ; in the outer schools, pupils had to pay for their maintenance, but not for their instruction. At the same time, the giving of presents was largely encouraged, especially when the boys left. These presents, often of great value, went sometimes to the funds of the school, at other times as tips into the pockets of the master (as till recently, I understand, at Eton !).

For the poor in the outer school, the monasteries themselves often made provision. Land was also frequently bequeathed for this specific purpose, and even alms asked. Hence the origin of the foundations attached to cathedrals and monasteries, and afterwards to universities.

The arrangements of the cathedral (episcopal, canonical) schools were similar to those of the exterior monastery schools, at least after the reforms of

Chrodegang; but, after the tenth century, they were not so strict. Where the cathedral foundations could not maintain the scholars—called *scolares canonici*—their parents or friends contributed. Among the pupils were also to be found the sons of well-to-do citizens, who paid for their own maintenance and instruction. The children of the very poor were frequently, but by no means always, maintained and educated free of cost, their destination being the parochial priesthood or the Church choir. This was especially the case after the third Lateran Council of 1179. Money was often left by pious persons for the education of poor scholars at the cathedral schools. But it would appear that such “poor” scholars as were not on the original foundation were often taught separately from the *scolares canonici* and those who paid. They were of a much lower social class. Even these canonici had constantly to pay a portion of the cost of maintenance and education. In this respect the cathedral schools were not so liberal as the exterior monastery schools, doubtless because they had not such large possessions.

The head of the cathedral school was called Scholasticus, or Capiscolus (*Caput scholæ*), although the designations *magister scholarum*, *archi-magister*, and *didascalus* were also in use. After the twelfth century, if not earlier, the scholasticus took precedence of the other canons after the dean. He seems also, sometimes, to have had a certain super-

vision of other Church and foundation schools in the diocese—a function in most places and in earlier time discharged by the chancellor, and more rarely by the archdeacon. From the central cathedral school these other subordinate schools obtained their teachers, and no one could act as teacher in any of the schools of the diocese (at least from the tenth century onwards) without receiving from the cathedral scholasticus or the chancellor a *facultas*, or *licencia*, *docendi*. Often he had to pay a fee for this.

The monastery schools were of the nature of boarding-schools, and held under strict ecclesiastical discipline. Monks were set apart to be with the boys day and night in order to watch and direct their conduct. This personal supervision was particularly close in the interior school, and in the best-organized monasteries almost every action of the *oblatus* was under fixed regulation. Thus was produced in the course of years a class of men entirely devoted to one idea, and each like the other. Perfect uniformity of appearance and demeanour was the result.

The discipline in all the schools was exceedingly severe. The slightest faults were punished with the rod. *Degere sub virga* meant “to receive education.” The severity was no doubt encouraged by the theory that the devil was in the hearts of boys, and could be got out only by flogging. In many monasteries all the boys were periodically flogged as a kind of general atonement for sins past and possible. Even so late

as the fourteenth century we find that the ceremony of introducing a schoolmaster to his office (incepting in grammar) was presenting him with a palmer (ferule) and rod, and requiring him to flog a boy publicly. "Then shall the Bedell purvay for every master in Gramer a shrewde boy whom the master in Gramer shall bete openlye in the Scolys and the master in Gramer shall give the boy a Grote for hys labour and another Grote to him that provydeth the rode and the palmer," etc.*

This lofty conception of the scholastic function still survives in many quarters. The earliest protest against it, after Quintilian, known to me is that of the eminent Anselm. "No teacher," says Green (p. 69), "has ever thrown a greater spirit of love into his toil." "'Force your scholars to improve!' he burst out to a teacher who relied on blows and compulsion. 'Did you ever see a craftsman fashion a fair image out of a golden plate by blows alone? Does he not now gently press it and strike it with his tools, now with wise art, yet more gently, raise and shape it? What do your scholars turn into under this ceaseless beating?' 'They turn only brutal,' was the reply. 'You have bad luck,' was the keen answer, 'in a training that only turns men into beasts'" (Green, i. 137).

It is necessary to exaggerate the work done in education from the third to the twelfth century, as

* Quoted by Mullinger, i. 345.

Newman does, if we are to admire the zeal and learning of the Church. Except at certain happy periods and certain centres, the instruction was inadequate, crude, bald, and unenlightened. On the other hand, the man who, looking back on those times, would blame the Church, has a churlish and narrow soul. I doubt if more could have been accomplished. Great sacrifices were made by those who, from generation to generation, led the education of the time. The zeal displayed for the transcribing of manuscripts, and for providing copies for transcription from distant parts, is in truth sometimes very touching. The scriptorium, where a part of every day was spent in transcribing, was as essential a part of the monastery buildings as the refectory or the chapel. "In every monastery," says Montalembert (vi. 136), "there was established first a library, then great studios, where, to increase the number of books, skilful caligraphers transcribed manuscripts; and, finally, schools open to all those who had need of or desire for instruction." Mabillon (ii. 38) describes the Abbey of Lerins "as an academy of virtue and learning open to all the world." The monastic life was, in truth, not merely a religious life, but in numerous cases an academic life, and has its modern counterpart in the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.

Even women shared in such learning as existed. Female learning was carried into Germany by

English ladies, who were said to be well versed in all the liberal arts.* We find the names of Chunihilt with her daughter Berhtgit, and Tekla mentioned with honour as founders of convents, which were places of education for girls as well as of religious retirement. The pupils of Lioba who taught at Bischofsheim were largely in request as teachers elsewhere.† A "religious" convent life may be almost said to have been also, when the nuns chose to make it so, an academic life. One of the most interesting literary names in the tenth century was that of Hroswilda (Hrosvita), who, in the German convent of Gandersheim, wrote dramas, recently published, and said to be of considerable merit.

Pure literature, as we understand it, was regarded as the production of the unconsecrated mind, was a snare, and was practically (save in a few cases) unknown. What we call humanism and the humanities could not live side by side with that which was alone necessary to salvation. As to science: even if the time had been otherwise ripe, science was impossible, because it means free investigation; philosophy was impossible, because it means unfettered thought. The day was approaching when the speculative mind, in its desire to rationalize theology, was to stir metaphysical questions, and, through the impulse to freedom thus given to the human mind, to

* Mab. Act. S. S., iii. 2. 227, quoted by Specht.

† Specht, p. 11, with relative authorities.

open it to the beauties of literature and so prepare the way for science. It is to Berengar, Archdeacon of Tours in the first half of the eleventh century, and the learned head of the Carolingian school there, that the stirring of these questions was largely due. He (like Scotus Erigena) maintained the rights of reason against the authority of the Fathers, and held what are now called evangelical and Protestant views of the Eucharist.

LECTURE V.

TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

ALCUIN had left behind him at the palace of Charles two faithful pupils; but two years after his withdrawal to Tours, Clement of Ireland, to whom the legend I quoted in Lecture III. referred, was installed as chief. The freer and more speculative theology of the Irish Church was represented by him. The appointment of John Scotus Erigena to the Palace School under Charles the Bald was a further step in the same liberal direction, and may be said even to mark an epoch in the intellectual history of the Middle Ages. Under the influence of Martianus Capella, Plato, the Pseudo-Dionysius, and the Greek Fathers, John started questions which alarmed Western orthodoxy, and which led gradually to the more formal teaching of Christianity as a dogmatic system resting on the Fathers and the decrees of councils. This teaching, in the course of the eleventh century, became centred in Paris, partly, doubtless, owing to the transference of the royal seat of the Capets to that city. It was represented in 1109 by William of Champeaux,

the greatest orthodox teacher of theology who had yet appeared, and whom we shall soon meet again.

The Carolingian revival had certainly accomplished a good deal. It left its mark. But, after all, the permanent results were not great. Whether we look at the three centuries that preceded it, or the two hundred and fifty years that followed it, we do not find much that can be called learning, we find nothing that can be called literature. Spite of the labours of Alcuin and of Theodulf, the decrees of episcopal councils and edicts of kings, we are told by Lupus Servatus (Loup de Ferrières)—the favourite of Louis le Débonnaire and Charles the Bald—that the study of letters was in his time almost null.* Lupus died in 870. This failure was doubtless largely due to the Norman and Saracen incursions, the former beginning within about thirty years of Charlemagne's death. In the same way the return of the Danes and other causes operated against learning in England. In Hallam's opinion, from the sixth to the middle of the eleventh century only two names are worthy of mention, viz. Scotus Erigena and Pope Sylvester II. (Gerbert, who died 1003). He rightly regards Alcuin as a man of moderate endowments. I think we ought to add to Hallam's brief list the names of Bede the Venerable, who died in 735, and Rabanus Maurus (Alcuin's pupil), whom I am disposed to regard as a man of considerable original genius as well as of great learning.

* Compayré, "*Hist. da Ped.*," p. 55.

But while it is true that there were only two or three great literary names during the period mentioned, it is not a correct inference from this that there was absolutely no learning. Not to speak of the Irish monks and the other scholars whom we have had to name, such as Theodulf and Eginhard, and the patient and secluded learning of the greater monasteries and abbeys, such as St. Riquier, St. Galle, Fulda, and the famous schools of Orleans and Rheims and, later, of Paris, we have to remember that the Benedictines everywhere were teachers and to a certain extent students. While steadily accumulating materials and forming libraries, they maintained, with varying fortunes, the tradition of knowledge.

After all, the early half of the ninth century perhaps did more for education, as that word was then understood, in proportion to the means and opportunities available, than any period since.

Still, we cannot shut our eyes to the rapid falling away, and we may say, without exaggeration, that the decline continued till, towards the latter half of the eleventh century, literature and learning could scarcely be held to exist, in any true sense of these words. There is ample evidence that this was so. Adalberic, Bishop of Laon, says in the earlier part of the eleventh century that "there was more than one bishop who was unable to tell the letters of the alphabet on his fingers" (Compayré). And even if we suppose this to refer to what might be called

"military" bishops, the sentence of ignorance is none the less conclusive, and shows how very restricted was the range of influence of the schools that still flourished at York, Pavia, Orleans, Paris, and Rheims. The noble example of Charlemagne and Alfred had not called forth imitators, if we except Charles's immediate descendants. King, baron, and knight had a contempt for those who professed even an elementary knowledge of letters. In the monasteries themselves the thread of learned tradition had become very thin—indeed scarcely discernible, save at the few celebrated centres which I have already named.

Eminent names there certainly were, even after the death of Theodulf and Eginhard—such as Rabanus Maurus, the pupil of Alcuin; Lupus Servatus of Ferrières, to whom I have already referred; Otho, called to be Archbishop of Cologne in 953; and Othlonus, of the monastery of St. Emmeran (Ratisbon). The last named refers to his early studies in Plato and Aristotle, as well as in Virgil, Lucan, and Cicero. But a few scholarly bishops and abbots will not save the intellectual reputation of centuries. Even Cardinal Newman himself quotes, "To pass from grammar to rhetoric, and then in course to the other liberal sciences," says Lupus, speaking of France, "*is fabula tantum*." Again, "It has ever been the custom in Italy," says Glaber Radulphus, writing of the year 1000, "to neglect all arts but grammar." True,

Newman reminds us that grammar meant also literature ; but this was not always, or even generally, the case. As a matter of fact, the few who affected classical studies found themselves at war with the spirit of the age and the teaching of the Catholic Church. It is related, for example, that a priest on his death-bed saw in a vision Archbishop Bruno brought before the judgment-seat of God to answer for his vain and useless occupation with the writings of heathens. He had to thank St. Paul for intervening and securing him a place in heaven ; but *under* the saints.* Abbot Odo of Cluny (922-942) compared Virgil to a beautiful vessel full of vipers, and Majolus, the fourth abbot, forbade him to be read in the cloister school (964-994). Again, it is related, in commendation of the liberal mind of Sigulf, one of Alcuin's pupils, that he permitted Virgil to be read at Ferrières.† Even the humane Anselm in the middle of the eleventh century has to *advise* the study of Virgil and other profane authors.‡

But we are not to suppose that during all this period the hearts and intellects of men were not busy. Theological questions engaged the leaders of the Church, great political and social movements pre-occupied men's minds. ↓ The Normans were invading Europe, the Danes were descending on England, the Saracens were threatening all Christendom, and

* Thietmari Chronic., quoted by Specht.

† Crevier, i. p. 63, edit. 1761.

‡ I. Ep., 55 (Mabillon).

society was fighting for its life. Notwithstanding the savage struggle, Europe was being slowly penetrated by Christian ideas. The self-sacrifice of the religious orders kept steadily before men's minds the fact that the spirit lives by the spirit, and that the things of earth are not to be compared with the things that are eternal; and many men of noble birth and great possessions, to whom a conspicuous secular career was open, sought refuge in the monkish cowl, and a life in community.

It is to this slow dissemination of Christian ideas that Guizot refers in his fifth lecture on the "History of Civilization," and, taking us quite to the last years of the period of which I am speaking, illustrates his argument by the autobiography of Guibert de Nogent. He says—

"Guibert de Nogent gives an account in this work both of the public events at which he was present, and of the personal events which passed within his own family. He was born in 1053, in a castle of Beauvaisis. Let us see how he speaks of his mother, and of his relations with her. Call to mind the narrative, or rather the language (for narrative is entirely wanting), of writers contemporaneous with Charlemagne, Louis le Débonnaire, and Charles le Chauve, on a similar matter, and say if this is the same condition of relations and of souls. 'I have said, God of mercy and holiness, that I would return thanks to Thee for Thy goodness. First, I especially return thanks to

Thee for having given me a chaste and modest mother, and one filled with fear of Thee. With regard to her beauty, I should praise it in a worldly and extravagant manner, did I place it anywhere but in a face armed with a severe chastity. . . . The virtuous expression of my mother, her rare speech, her always tranquil countenance, were not made to encourage the levity of those who beheld her . . . and what is very rarely, or scarcely ever seen in women of a high rank, she was as jealous of preserving pure the gifts of God, as she was reserved in blaming women who abused them ; and when it happened that a woman, whether within or without her house, became the object of a censure of this kind, she abstained from taking part in it ; she was afflicted at hearing it, just as if the censure had fallen on herself. . . . It was far less from experience than from a kind of awe with which she was inspired from above, that she was accustomed to detest sin ; and, as she often said to me, she had so penetrated her soul with the fear of sudden death, that, arrived at a more advanced age, she bitterly regretted no longer experiencing in her aged heart those same stings of pious terror which she had felt in her age of simplicity and ignorance !

“The eighth month of my birth had scarcely elapsed, when my father in the flesh died ; . . . although my mother was still fair and of fresh age, she resolved to remain a widow, and how great was the firmness

which she used to accomplish this vow! How great were the examples of modesty which she gave! . . . Living in great fear of the Lord, and with an equal love for her neighbours, especially those who were poor, she managed us prudently, us and our property. . . . Her mouth was so accustomed to continually repeat the name of her dead husband, that it seemed as if her soul had never any other thought; for, whether in praying or distributing alms, even in the most ordinary acts of life, she continually pronounced the name of that man, which showed that her mind was always preoccupied with him. In fact, when the heart is absorbed in a feeling of love, the tongue forms itself in a manner to speak, as it were unconsciously, of him who is its object.

“My mother brought me up with the most tender care. . . . Scarcely had I learned the first elements of letters, when, eager to have me instructed, she confided me to a master of grammar. . . . There was, shortly before this epoch, and even at this time, so great a scarcity of masters of grammar, that, so to speak, scarce one was to be seen in the country, and hardly could they be found in the great towns. . . . He to whom my mother resolved to confide me had learned grammar in a rather advanced age, and was so much the less familiar with this science, as he had devoted himself to it at a later period; but what he wanted in knowledge, he made up for in virtue. . . . From the time I was placed under his care, he formed

in me such a purity, he so thoroughly eradicated from me all the vices which generally accompany youth, that he preserved me from the most frequent dangers. He always allowed me to go nowhere except in his company, to sleep nowhere but in my mother's house, to receive a present from no one without her permission. He required me to do everything with moderation, precision, attention, and exertion. . . . While most children of my age ran here and there, according to their pleasure, and were allowed from time to time the enjoyment of the liberty which belongs to them, I, held in continual restraint, muffled up like a clerk, looked upon the band of players as if I had been a being above them.

“Every one, seeing how my master excited me to work, hoped at first that such great application would sharpen my wits; but this hope soon diminished, for my master, altogether unskilful at reciting verses, or composing them according to rule, almost every day loaded me with a shower of cuffs and blows, to force me to know what he himself was unable to teach me. . . . Still he showed me so much friendship, he occupied himself concerning me with so much solicitude, he watched so assiduously over my safety, that, far from experiencing the fear generally felt at that age, I forgot all his severity, and obeyed with an inexpressible feeling of love. . . . One day, when I had been struck, having neglected my work for some hours in the evening, I went and sat

myself at my mother's knee, severely bruised, and certainly more so than I had deserved. My mother having, according to her custom, asked if I had been beaten that day, I, in order to avoid accusing my master, assured her that I had not. But she, pulling aside, whether I would or no, the garment they call a shirt, saw my little arms all black, and the skin of my shoulders all raised up and swollen by the blow of the rod which I had received. At this sight, complaining that they treated me with too much cruelty at so tender an age, all troubled and beside herself, her eyes full of tears, she cried, "I will no longer have thee become a priest, nor, in order to learn letters, that thou thus endure such treatment." But I, at these words, regarding her with all the rage of which I was capable, said to her: "I would rather die than cease learning letters, and wishing to be a priest."

"Who can read this account without being struck with the prodigious development which, in two centuries, has been taken by the domestic sentiments, the importance attached to children, to their education, to all the ties of family? You might search through all the writers of the preceding centuries, and never find anything resembling it. We cannot, I repeat, give an exact account of the manner in which this revolution was accomplished; we do not follow it in its degrees; but it is incontestable."

We see, in a record like that just quoted from

Guizot, evidence that the efforts of the Christian Church to moralize the minds of the people, had, spite of the disturbed social conditions, told powerfully on personal and social relations. But, in this the middle of the eleventh century, I see no evidence that the education (in the usual sense of that term) either of people or clergy had made any progress, even in the quiet of the monasteries, beyond that attained in the generation that immediately followed Charlemagne and Alcuin. Indeed, how could it? The spirit of progress can exist only where there is a belief in *new* developments of thought, *new* teachings of science. The stringent dogmatism of the Church made this impossible. I do not think the authorities had, at that time, much fear of heresy in connection with mental activity. It was merely that the intellectual asceticism of mediæval Christianity turned instinctively aside from all speculation and investigation as superfluous, if not hurtful, to the true spiritual life—as a life of faith, obedience, and practice. In these days (strangely enough!) a similar attitude is assumed by the devotees of physical science; and the parallel is not a forced one. Philosophy and letters are simply, nay barely, tolerated in education; language is admitted, but only to a precarious place on utilitarian grounds alone.

We conclude, then, that there was a moral advance rather than an intellectual one during the two centuries after the death of Charlemagne. At the same time,

through the impulse given by Charles, the mediæval curriculum of instruction was more thoroughly studied in a few favoured spots than it had been anywhere for centuries except in Ireland, and the England of Theodore and Baeda. Especially was this the case at Paris, Orleans, and Rheims. It was at the latter town that the celebrated Gerbert, of whom I have more than once spoken, taught, and we have a record of his course of instruction in the "*Historiarum Quatuor Libri*" of Richerus (bk. iii.), to which I have referred in the fourth lecture.

Among other causes which led to the decline of learning, was, without doubt, the expectation that the year 1000 would see the end of all things. Under the influence of this expectation, churches and houses were allowed to go to ruin, and even the fields were left untilld. Why should men concern themselves with learning when the *dies iræ* was so close at hand?

Not only were those centuries engaged in taking to heart the practical teachings of Christianity, but in other directions than that of learning there was great activity. In the century that saw the death of Charlemagne, there arose out of feudalism an educational force far more potent than the monastic schools. This was a secular order, destined to work great changes in the political as in the moral world—the order of chivalry. The element of personality

and individual merit was so all-powerful in this order, that, in this respect, it may be said to have contained the germs of reformation ideas. Taking its rise in the tenth century, it grew steadily in importance, and effloresced in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth. These last were also the centuries of intellectual revival and the beginning of the universities, and it is interesting to note that alongside of this intellectual movement we have the assertion of moral freedom and personal moral responsibility in the chivalric order. Its creed was love of honour, personal courage, alone and against odds, truthfulness, an abstract love of justice, respect for woman, and courtesy. The Teutonic spirit thus illustrating itself in Christianity was a civilizing and spiritualizing agency of no mean character. This the Church soon saw, and it quickly brought chivalry within its own organization by consecrating with solemn ceremonies the sword of the knight to the defence of the faith. As it was an order of personal nobility as distinguished from the nobility attached to hereditary possessions, a career was thus opened for ardent and ambitious youth. At the great castles there arose, in continuation of the ancient custom of the Germani, what might be called baronial schools of gymnastic, of military training, courtesy, and honour. Ere long singing and playing on stringed instruments were also introduced, and even the art of versification was cultivated.

Let us now turn for a moment from the West to the East. During the centuries of which we have been speaking (ninth, tenth, and eleventh), when literature, philosophy, and learning languished in Europe, the torch burned brightly among the Arabs in the east and south. Under the inspiration of the religion of Mohammed, the children of the desert carried the Koran and the sword to the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans. No sooner did their victorious armies establish new states, than the spiritual force which the new faith had nursed turned in fresh directions: jurisprudence, philosophy, science, and art rose and flourished under the liberal sway of the Mohammedan princes. Every mosque had its school. Numerous academies and universities were instituted, while great libraries were collected at Bagdad, Alexandria, Cairo, Cordova, and elsewhere. The survivals of ancient Greek learning in the Eastern schools seem to have powerfully attracted the conquerors, and of Greek literature and art they soon became ardent students. Translators were officially employed. Long before Aristotle was expounded in support of Christian dogma, he had been turned to a similar use in connection with the Mohammedan faith. The great names of Avicenna and Averrhoes are only the most prominent among a crowd of intellectual men who, in the various fields of philosophy, rhetoric, poetry, mathematics, and medicine, adorned the Mohammedan courts. It

would seem that it was the translation of Aristotle and Euclid into Arabic that formed the starting-point of this new literary activity in every department of thought save poetry, which was native, and jurisprudence, which was largely based on the Koran. Christian youths and Christian teachers were made welcome at the great schools and libraries of Spain, Africa, and the East. George Backtischwah (Bocht Jesu, 754), a Nestorian Greek Christian, founded the medical science of the Saracens.* Even if it be untrue that Gerbert acquired his wide learning at the Saracen schools of Spain,† the universal acceptance of the story, till recently, is itself suggestive, and is part of the history of education. Legends are often as instructive and real as facts.

“Bagdad,” says Sismondi, “was the capital of letters as well as of the caliphs ; but Bassorah and Cufa almost equalled that city in reputation, and in the number of valuable treatises and celebrated poems which they produced. Balkh, Ispahan, and Samarcand were equally the homes of science. The same enthusiasm had been carried by the Arabs beyond the frontiers of Asia. Benjamin Tudela, a Jew, relates in his ‘Itinerary’ that he found in Alexandria more than twenty schools for the propagation of philosophy. Cairo also contained a great number of colleges ; and that of Betzuaila, in the suburbs of

* Sismondi, i. 2.

† Denied by Olleris in his “Vie de Gerbert.”

that capital, was so substantially built, that during a rebellion it served as a citadel for the army. In the towns of Fez and Morocco, likewise, the most magnificent buildings were appropriated to the purposes of instruction, and these establishments were governed by the wisest and most beneficent regulations. But Spain was, more especially, the seat of Arabian learning. It was there that it shone with superior brightness and made its most rapid progress Cordova, Grenada, and Seville rivalled one another in the magnificence of their schools, their colleges, their academies, and their libraries."*

* Cramer, in his "*Gesch. d. Erz. in d. Nied.*," p. 202, says that the annual income of the Cairo university was 250,000 ducats, and that the caliphs frequently attended the lectures and disputations. Contrast all this with the Philistine notions of a British House of Commons.

LECTURE VI.

RISE OF UNIVERSITIES (A.D. 1100).

WHEN we speak of Europe recovering in the twelfth century from a long intellectual sleep, our past lectures show that this expression is to be used with a full recognition of the work done by the Church, and not in the absolute sense in which some historians, including even Hallam, use it. After the Council of Carthage, in which classical literature was almost of necessity proscribed, the Church was engaged in reorganizing Europe on a spiritual basis ; and, in the midst of great difficulties, the work of preparing the clergy for their duties and training the people in Christian doctrine and practice taxed all its energies.

And yet, it is true that it was a sleep out of which Europe arose. After the rough call of John Scotus Erigena it turned on its other side. The (so-called) heresies of Gotteschalk and Berengar made it open its eyes ; but it was not till Roscelin and Anselm, boldly following in the track of Scotus—a track by that time almost obliterated—asserted

the claims of reason and the essential unity of religion and philosophy, that the higher intellect of Europe was fairly roused to activity.

Up to the end of the eleventh century the instruction was, speaking generally, and allowing for transitory periods of revival, and for a few exceptional schools, a shrunken survival of the old *trivium et quadrivium*. The lessons, when not dictated and learnt by heart from notes, were got up from bald epitomes. All that was taught, moreover, was taught solely with a view to "pious uses." Criticism did not exist; the free spirit of speculation *could* not, of course, exist. The rules of the orders inevitably cribbed and confined the minds of the learners, old and young. The independent activity of the human mind, if it could be called independent, showed itself only in chronicles, histories, *acta sanctorum*, and so forth. This was, doubtless, a necessary stage in the historical development of Europe, and it is absurd to talk of these ages as "dark ages," by way of imputing blame or remissness to the Catholic Church. All that could be done was done by the Catholic organizations, and by no other agency. The Catholic Church did not prohibit learning if it subserved the faith. Opinion was watched certainly, but to look with superfluous alarm on possible developments of anti-theological speculation did not occur to the men of that time, and this is conspicuously shown in the attitude which the popes

took to universities when they began to arise (1100–1150). When heresies did show themselves, they were, at least at first, met by laboured argument, and the suppression of them by councils was, in truth, the last act in a series of able disputations—the judicial summing up and sentence, so to speak.* In brief, the Christian schools were doing their proper work for Europe. They did not promote learning in any true sense; but they conserved learning, and, what was of more importance, they were leavening the life of the people. ✓

The preceding lectures are, I believe, quite fair and accurate, though necessarily brief, surveys of mediæval educational work down to the eleventh century. Cardinal Newman, with his subjective and idealistic tendencies, sees facts through a brilliant halo when he would have us believe that the popes and bishops were continually consumed with a desire to promote learning. Numerous decrees of councils show that they were most anxious to improve the education of the clergy, but this only in so far as the studies of the schools could subserve the faith—a restriction fatal to the true life of mind and, therefore, to progress. No learning which stimulated the human mind to independent

* I refer to learned and speculative heresy. The suppression of heresies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the suppression, quite as much, of resistance to the supreme papal jurisdiction simply as such. For the heresies of this period, see Milman.

activity could possibly be regarded with favour by the existing powers. Scotus Erigena was a "suspect;" and all know how, long after, Abelard was persecuted. Anselm (born 1034) might speculate safely because he, like all other sound Churchmen, started from unquestioning belief. His object was to interpret authority. *Credo ut intelligam* was the legend on the ecclesiastical banner. Scotus Erigena had dared to say, "Authority is derived from reason, not reason from authority; and where the former is not confirmed by the latter, it is valueless." Had Erigena founded a school on this basis, the attitude of the Church towards it would have been necessarily hostile. But this temporary aberration of thought from dogmatic channels was forgotten, and the Church welcomed the extension of learning in the twelfth century, while, of course, keeping a watchful eye on Abelard and his spiritual successors.

As we approach the period which saw the birth of those institutions known as *Studia Publica* or *Generalia*, and ere long to be known as "universities," we have to extend our vision and recognize the circumstances of the time, and those changes in the social condition of Europe which made great central schools possible—schools to be frequented not merely by the young ecclesiastic, but by laymen.

Among other causes which led to the diffusion of a demand for education among the laity, was, I think, the institution or reorganization of municipalities.

It was about the end of the eleventh century that the civic Communes (*Communia*) began to seek and obtain, from royal and other authorities, charters of incorporation constituting their internal government and conferring certain freedoms and privileges as against the encroachment of lay and ecclesiastical feudal barons. The municipal movement in Italy is too well known to need more than a reference. In France, Louis VI. issued (1135) several letters of franchise to cities and towns. About the same time, and somewhat prior to this, trade guilds had been formed in many cities for mutual protection, the advancement of commerce, and the internal regulation of the various crafts. There immediately followed a desire for schools in the more important commercial towns. In Italy such schools arose in Bologna, Milan, Brescia, and Florence; and in Germany they arose in Lübeck, Hamburg, Breslau, Nordhausen, Stettin, Leipsic, and Nürnberg. The distinctive characteristic of these city schools was, that they do not seem to have been under the direct control of the Church, or to have been always taught by priests; further, that the native tongue (German or Italian, as the case might be) was taught. Reading, writing, and a little arithmetic seem to have formed the staple of the instruction. The custom of dictating, writing down, and then learning by heart what was written—universal in the schools of the preceding centuries—was, of course, still

followed in these burgh schools. This custom was almost inevitable. Printing was not yet invented, and manuscript books were expensive. But such a method of instruction was not without its advantages. It exercised the pupils in a practical or imitative way in writing, grammar, composition, and spelling, while it could not fail to train the memory.

[We may now briefly summarize the *status quo* in (say) the year 1100, when the university movement may be said to have originated. The Benedictine monastery schools and the episcopal and foundation schools were prosecuting in an arid spirit the old trivium, to the benefits of which the children of laymen were certainly admitted, but the main aim of which was the training of the priest and the monk. Some of these had a high reputation, and included the quadrivium in their course; and many monks were skilled in the circle of the sciences in their traditional form. The towns had in many parts of Europe started vernacular schools free from all ecclesiastical control, the aim of which was limited to what we now call primary instruction. The increased communication with Africa and the East through the Crusades had introduced men to a standard of learning among the Arabs, unknown in Europe. Outside the school, the order of chivalry had introduced a new and higher ethical spirit than had been known in the previous centuries. Civic communities and trade guilds were forming them-

selves and seeking charters of incorporation. Above all, the Crusades, by stimulating the ardour and exciting the intellects of men, had unsettled old convention by bringing men of all ranks within the sacred circle of a common enthusiasm, and into contact with foreign civilizations.

The desire for a higher education, and the impulse to more profound investigation, that characterized the beginning and course of the twelfth century, was thus only a part of a widespread movement, political and moral, which showed itself in the order of chivalry, in the Crusades, the rise of free towns, the incorporation of civic life, the organization of industries in the form of guilds, and, we may also add, as another indication of the mental quickening, in the rise of a Provençal modern language and literature and of not a few heresies. The universal domination of the Catholic Church, too, had by this time created a spiritual European commonwealth, and a common language which made communication between the citizens of different countries possible, and secured the safety of travelling clerics—a word of very wide signification, and gradually extended to all scholars. The abbeys and monasteries had *hospitia*, or hostels, attached to them, and travellers moved from one to the other. The dress of a monk or the designation of a scholar guaranteed protection wherever the Catholic Church existed, irrespectively of nationality. The university movement, accordingly, was not an isolated move-

ment, or due to only one cause. The times were ripe, and the general conditions of life made the new development possible. }

Let us further bear in mind that while the Romano-Hellenic schools had long disappeared, there still existed, in many towns, episcopal schools of a high class, many of which might be regarded as continuations of the old imperial provincial institutions, of which I spoke in a former lecture. In Bologna and Paris, Rheims and Naples, it was so. The arts curriculum professed in these centres was, for the time and state of knowledge, good. These schools, indeed, had never quite lost the fresh impulse given by Charlemagne and his successors. It is essential, then, that we keep these schools in view, for, according to my view of educational history, the great *studia publica* or *generalia* arose out of them. They were themselves, in a narrow sense, already *studia publica*.

Nor is this all; for when we look at the more important of the schools, such as those of St. Galle, Bologna, Paris, Salernum (Monte Cassino), Bec, Rheims, Lerins, and Oxford, and realize the fact that, already in the eleventh century (and to a certain extent before this), these schools, as possessing a high reputation, were resorted to by the more advanced and ambitious students from all quarters, the question, What is a university? wherein consists its differentiation from a first-class Benedictine or cathedral school? is not so easy to answer as may at first appear.

At Bec, for example, Anselm (1033-1108) had been both student and prior, leaving it for the primacy of England. All civilized Europe recognized the celebrity of this theological school. Anselm may be regarded, along perhaps with Berengar (setting aside Erigena, who belonged to a long prior period), as the true founder of the speculative theology, which by the help of Roscelin, and after him of Abelard, led to the University of Paris.*

[Now, looking, first, to the germ out of which the universities grew, I think we must say that the universities may be regarded as a natural development of the cathedral and monastery schools; but if we seek for an external motive force urging men to undertake the more profound and independent study of the liberal arts, we can find it only in the Saracenic schools of Bagdad, Babylon, Alexandria, and Cordova. The Saracens were necessarily brought into contact with Greek literature just when the Western Church was drifting away from it, and by their translations of Hippocrates, Galen, Aristotle, and other Greek classics, they restored what may be quite accurately called the "university life" of the Greeks. Many of their teachers were, of course, themselves Greeks, who had conformed to the new faith. To these Arab schools Christians had resorted

* As to the Oxford school, the discredit thrown on the chronicle of Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland, destroys the chief evidence of the high character of the work done there at this time.

in considerable numbers, and were cordially welcomed. They brought back, especially to Italy, the knowledge and the impulse they had gained. This will appear more clearly when we come to speak of Salernum, which unquestionably led the way. We are right, then, I think, in connecting the birth of universities, on the one hand, with the cathedral and Benedictine schools, of which they were an evolution, and with the Saracenic impulse on the other,—the latter being, in fact, old Greece at work again through an alien channel. Some influence, also, may have come from the Greeks of Constantinople through Venice, for in the eleventh century there was still a survival of old Greek ideas. In the Eastern capital Greek literature was still studied, and the Greek tongue written (it is said) with classical purity. But the activity of thought there, was as nothing when compared with that of the Arabs.

But the cloister and cathedral schools, and the Saracenic impulse, would not of themselves have given rise to universities. There were other actuating causes, and these I consider to have been: (1) The gradual growth of traditionary learning, which accumulated so great a weight on the subjects that most interest the mind of man and are most essential to his welfare as a member of society, as to *demand specialization*. (2) The growth of a lay or anti-monastic feeling in connection with the work of physician, lawyer, and even theologian. (3) The *actual specializing* of the

leading studies—medicine at Salernum, law at Bologna, and theology, with its cognate philosophy, at Paris. As a matter of course, this specialization drew (as it would to-day draw) a vast number of students to the noted centres of instruction—both those intended for the religious life, whether as priests or monks, and those who desired as laymen, and free from monastic vows and monastic rule, to mix with their fellow-men as professional workers. This, I submit, is the chief key to the explanation of the rise of the higher or university schools. They were *specialized* schools, as opposed to the schools of Arts, and they were *open to all* without restriction as *studia publica* or *generalia*, as opposed to the more restricted ecclesiastical schools which were under a “Rule.”

Indeed, in the beginning, and for some time, there was too little restriction. The daily life at these centres was not only free, but often licentious, and always more or less turbulent. They had a powerful attraction for the idle as well as for the industrious youth of Europe, and life at the great seats of learning was, in its way, almost as “jolly” as the Crusades. These crusades, moreover, as well as the growth of mercantile intercourse, had by this time accustomed men’s minds to travel and adventure, and the Church protection, as I have already pointed out, made travelling much easier than has been commonly supposed.

Speaking of the University of Paris, Crevier (i. 1)

says, "By its essential constitution it is all composed of seculars, and in such a way that the regulars, whom it has been forced to admit have been admitted only under conditions and restrictions which hinder them from dominating, and which assure to the seculars complete pre-eminence." Again, he points out that the masters have no superiors, and are accountable only to public opinion and the law of the state. There was thus not only free living; there was free teaching and free learning. (Doubtless the teachers were at first ecclesiastics, if not monks and bound by their vows; but they were living out of community, and were quickly succeeded by men who were not monks. The specialization of studies then, and the growing feeling that professional studies might be freely pursued outside monastic or canonical regulations—the growth of a lay feeling, as we may call it—constitute the specific, as opposed to the general, forces which differentiated the new higher institutions from the higher class of cathedral and Benedictine schools.) An incidental and contributory proof of this lies in the great success which attended the specialized schools of Salernum, Bologna, and Paris, as compared with Oxford (till after the migration from Paris), which seems to have retained longer the character of a general school of Arts merely.

Bulaeus makes an attempt to differentiate a university from a school or college of Arts, and finds that they differ—

1. *Ratione disciplinæ.* That is to say, they teach not merely arts, but also law, medicine, and theology.

2. *Ratione loci.* They are placed in suitable, healthy, and accessible localities.

3. *Ratione fundatorum.* That is, they are founded by popes, emperors, and kings; whereas colleges and trivial and quadrivial schools are founded by lesser authorities in Church and State.

4. *Ratione privilegiorum.* A university as such cannot exist without special privileges both pecuniary and legal.

5. *Ratione regiminis.* A college is governed by one head; a university is a *respublica litteraria*.

Though all these, except the second, are distinctive notes of a *complete* universitas, historical facts compel us to refuse assent to the other characteristics as being essential. The first, fourth, and fifth confirm, *so far as they go*, my view as to the characteristics which gradually raised a school into a *studium generale*. Whether we are to say the Arts schools developed into universities, or that universities, being set on foot by the motive forces to which we have referred, gradually absorbed the Arts schools, matters little. This is certain, that specialized studies always *presumed* some course in 'arts—the trivium at least—and if this were at first obtained outside the universitas proper, it very soon became an integral part of the *university* teaching. At Paris and Oxford the Arts unquestionably retained their hold from the first,

but the extent to which the new specialized subjects tended at one time to overshadow the old is shown by the old couplet—

“Dat Galenus opes, dat Justinianus honores
Sed genus et species cogitur ire pedes.”

Generally, I would say that the existence of a course in arts was always assumed, but the *studium generale* outside this might consist of only one specialty, as for long was the case at Montpellier, Toulouse, Bologna, etc., etc. The “generale” had no reference to the encyclopædism of the instruction. I would briefly define a primary *studium generale* as “a privileged higher, specialized, and self-governing school open to all the world, free from monastic or canonical rule, its privileges including the right of promotion.”

I have given in this lecture, briefly, both the general and the specific causes which (we may almost say) forced the new educational development. In treating of individual universities I shall illustrate my theory. As regards, further, the *form of internal constitution* adopted by the universities, it may be well here, for the sake of clearness, to add that I consider that the trade guilds of the Middle Ages exercised a powerful influence on the character of university constitutions, including even their graduation system.

In dealing with the three primary *studia generalia*, it is difficult to determine whether we ought to begin

with Paris, Bologna, or Salerno. I choose to begin with Salerno, because I think there is ample evidence of *specialized* instruction and of a collegiate constitution there before these characteristics were to be found at the other seats of learning which contest with Salerno the honour of priority. And I do this although I am well aware that Salerno had little influence on the history of universities elsewhere. Paris and Bologna alone formed the models or types of the European system.*

* Strange to say, Bologna had more influence in France than Paris had.

The preceding lecture finds its complement in the lecture on university constitutions.



LECTURE VII.

THE FIRST UNIVERSITIES.*

THE SCHOLA SALERNITANA, AND THE UNIVERSITY OF NAPLES.

TO fix precisely the date of the rise of the first specialized schools or universities is impossible, for the simple reason that they were not founded. Europe was at the beginning of a new intellectual movement, and had to feel its own way to the forms which might best provide a fitting channel. So in Athens at the time of the sophists. Their teaching seems to have culminated in the rhetorical school of Isocrates,† which, though a private institution, may be regarded as containing the germ of the future university both of ancient and modern times. For it was attended by youths who had already gone through the ordinary schools and were contemplating a public life; and not only by these, but by men who afterwards led a purely literary life, such as Theopompus and Ephorus, and Asclepiades and Theodectes.

* It is to be understood that I use this term for convenience, while fully aware that it was not applied in the ancient world nor to the *studia generalia* of mediæval times for two centuries after they arose.

† In saying this, I do not forget the purely philosophical schools:

"If the example of Clearchus, the subsequent tyrant of Heraclea," says Mr. E. Kirkpatrick,* "may be regarded as establishing the rule, the term of study occupied four years, and the fee for the entire course amounted to a thousand drachmæ." We know that Isocrates anticipated Quintilian in considering that the equipment of the true orator included the study of literature and ethics, etc.; and these were prosecuted in due order in this school. Out of this school and that of Plato, the University of Athens, if we may use the expression, arose and was followed by others (*vide* Lecture I.). But neither to the universities of the empire, nor of Byzantium, nor to the Arab schools, is there evidence that the European revival of the twelfth century owed anything, save the Saracenic impulse. There was no "organic unity of succession," so far as I can see, although there are many curious parallelisms.† The simplest account of the new university origins is the most correct. It would appear that certain active-minded men of marked eminence began to give instruction in medical subjects at Salerno, and in law at Bologna, in a spirit and manner not previously attempted, to youths who had left the monastery and cathedral schools, and who desired to equip themselves for professional life. Pupils flocked to them; and the more able of these students, finding

* "The University," p. 118. (Auth.) Memnon, *περὶ Ἡρακλείας*; Müller, "Fr. Historicorum," ii. 876.

† I shall speak of this again.

that there was a public demand for this higher specialized instruction, remained at head-quarters, and themselves became teachers or doctors.

The Church did not found universities any more than it founded the order of chivalry. They were founded by a concurrence (not wholly fortuitous) of able men who had something they wished to teach, and of youths who desired to learn. None the less were the acquiescence and protection of Church and State necessary in those days for the fostering of these infant seminaries. Free, voluntary, self-supporting centres of learning, independent of ecclesiastical control and of civil direction, they certainly were in their beginnings. Free teaching and free learning were in the very heart of them. Out of a free spirit they arose, and not out of the brain of an ecclesiastic, seeking definite ends for the glory of the Church. But while this is true, it is not true that the Church was indifferent, or that there was no ecclesiastical supervision. The astute statesmen who at Rome had formed the noble conception of a spiritual empire of Europe, in which all men and all nations should be equal partakers, and which would transcend the petty distinctions of race and nation, had their eyes everywhere. They were actuated by no narrow feelings of jealousy when they saw these centres of free learning and free teaching growing up. On the contrary, just as they seized on the order of chivalry and sanctified it by turning it to spiritual uses under

the blessing of the Church, so they welcomed the rise of the new centres of intellectual activity, and, without any idea of controlling, gave them encouragement and privileges, believing that all learning tended to the glory of God and the good of the Church.

But we are to some extent anticipating. For as yet at the close of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth centuries, Salerno, Bologna, and Paris were practically in the hands of self-constituted teachers. Irnerius, the first great authority in civil law, was beginning to lecture at Bologna and gathering crowds of students; at Salerno, some time prior to this, medicine was being publicly taught; and, about the same time, philosophical, or what we now call "arts," studies were being prosecuted at Paris with a special view to theological inquiry and the priestly office.

Thus not only were the infant universities specialized schools, but their primary purpose, as indeed manifestly follows from their specialization, was a "professional" one. They had practical ends; their aim was to minister to the immediate needs of society. Speculation and the scientific spirit, nay, the Reformation and the liberties of Europe, arose out of them; but such large issues were not present to the minds of the first doctors. They simply aimed at critically expounding recognized authorities in the interest of social wants. { It was the needs of the human body which originated Salerno; it was the needs of men as related to each other in a civil organism which origi-

nated Bologna; it was the eternal needs of the human spirit in its relation to the unseen that originated Paris.] We may say, then, that it was the improvement of the professions of medicine, law, and theology which led to the inception and organization of the first great schools.*

I am aware that it is usual to regard Paris as primarily a university of arts. But a closer inspection will satisfy the investigator that "arts" were studied mainly with a view to the priesthood, and that in so far as the school had an "university" character, arts meant philosophy, as handmaid and rationalizer of theology. The purely philosophical studies (and philosophy then meant the study of nature as well as of the mind of man) gradually asserted for themselves increasing importance, and finally, as we shall in the sequel see, led to such differences among the Parisian doctors and the mendicant orders that the only solution was the separation of the strictly theological from the other arts' studies. The former were, for the first time, formally constituted a "faculty of theology" so late as 1272.

Of the three great schools which we have named, there is sufficient ground for believing that the first to reach such a development as to entitle it to the name of a studium generale or university was the *Schola*

* Towards the end of the eleventh century or beginning of the twelfth medicine was being taught at Montpellier by Jews who had acquired their knowledge at Arab schools.

Salernitana, although it never was a university, technically speaking ; and it is further interesting to note, in connection with the study of the physical sciences, that the Salernitan school and the University of Naples owed their first formal recognition and privileges not to the pope, as did other seats of learning, but to the civil power. By following its early fortunes we shall, I think, learn much as to the early growth of universities.

6
THE SCHOLA SALERNITANA.

Let us now, then, look more closely at the rise of this Salernitan school and its transformation into an university, or at least a recognized limb of the University of Naples. By so doing we shall see more clearly how the "university," as understood in Europe for the last six hundred years, gradually came into existence. We shall find in the gradual development of this medical school confirmation of the general historical interpretation, which we have ventured to give in the preceding pages ; and if we are rightly to understand university history we must not grudge careful attention to the rise of an institution so famous—*fons medicinæ*, as Petrarch called it.

First, we have to note that Benedict established his great monastery at Monte Cassino, near Salernum, in 528 A.D., and that one of the rules of his order was "to apply themselves to the study of letters, and in all important disciplines to instruct all the members of

their order"* (including, of course, young aspirants); but they were not permitted to lecture in public to all and sundry.† Among other studies, medicine engaged the minds of the monks, and here, as well as in monasteries elsewhere, medical monks gave advice and medicines gratuitously. The books studied and expounded (and transcribed again and again) were Hippocrates and Galen. These facts are sufficient to establish a direct connection with Greek medicine long before the Saracen influence was felt in Europe. Indeed, Hippocrates and Galen were translated into Latin before A.D. 560. ‡

It seems to have been entirely to the Benedictine monastery that Salerno owed the first beginnings of its fame. Whether a later writer (Scipio Mozella) be correct in his details or not, there can be little doubt that Charlemagne, in 802 A.D., gave a great impulse to this monastery school. Among other reforms, he ordered Greek books to be translated from the Arabic into Latin. It is certain that between this date and the appearance of the first man who may be said to have had an European medical reputation as a teacher, Salerno was known, in consequence of the "public" instructions given by the monks of the neighbouring monastery, as a *civitas Hippocratica*.

The abbot of the monastery from 856, Bertharius

* *Litérarum studiis operam dare et in omnibus præclaris disciplinis suos omnes erudire.*

† *Concionare aut publicè legere.*

‡ Page 34 of Ackermann's "*Regimen Scholæ Salernitanæ.*"

(of French origin), was a very learned man, and two manuscripts of his are said to be still in existence in which he had made a collection of hygienic and curative rules. He and his monks were massacred by the Saracens in 883. Again, Alphanus (secundus), distinguished in philosophy and theology, and not less skilled in singing than in medicine, wrote a book on "The Union of the Soul and Body," and another on "The Four Humours." Desiderius, another abbot of the monastery, and afterwards pope (Victor III. 1085 A.D.), is recorded to have been *medicinæ peritissimus*.

It is only about this date that we reach a man of European reputation who finally placed Salernum in the front as a great and specialized medical *studium publicum*. We refer to Constantine, the Carthaginian Christian, who had spent the greater part of his life in travel and study, especially in the East. It is recorded that in Babylon he studied grammar, dialectic, arithmetic, mathematics, necromancy, music, and physics. He visited also India and Egypt, and returned to Carthage the most learned man of his time in all medical science. The jealousy of rivals and a suspicion of dealing in witchcraft compelled him to flee from his native city, and he naturally took refuge in Salernum. There he was held in high favour by Robert Guiscard the Norman, who had by this time conquered Apulia, and was no less distinguished as a patron of arts and letters than as a warrior. Constantine pub-

lished many medical works of his own, including compendiums, translated many from the Arabic, and finally, retiring to the monastery on Monte Cassino, died there in 1087. The precise date of his arrival in Salernum is not given, but if we fix it at 1065, we may assume this as the date of the established European reputation of the Salernitan school. About this time, if not indeed before it, the school was frequented not only by students from all parts of Italy and France, but by some from Germany, and even by Moors and Jews. Medicine is said to have been taught in the Hebrew as well as in the Latin tongue. Whether all the Christian teachers at Salernum were at this time monks or not is uncertain; but this is clear, that the monks and others taught *publicly* in Salernum, and were not limited as to the class of students they welcomed. Jews also taught.

Contemporary with Constantine there were also lady-students. Gisulfus, Duke of Salernum, who had been displaced by Robert Guiscard, had a sister named Sichelgaita who had a medical reputation, especially in the department of poisons; and several other female medical writers are referred to in those early times. Whether the body of teachers was in any way organized as a "college" so early as this is not very clear. But the celebrated health rules written in Latin verse, and addressed to the King of England in 1100 A.D., show that at that date, if not earlier, there was a collegiate combination of some sort, for the writers call

themselves *tota schola Salerni*. We know also from Giannone's "History of Naples" that Duke Robert, brother of William the Conqueror, resorted to Salernum as a recognized school of medicine on his way home from the Crusades in 1096, to be there treated for a serious wound.*

Robert Guiscard (who died in 1085) conferred privileges on the medical school, and as these would not be conferred on individuals, but on a body of teachers who had already voluntarily, in some fashion, organized themselves, we may safely date the *collegium* not later than 1060 A.D.; and certainly before 1100 A.D. (probably long before), the head of the school was known under the designation of "prior." Before 1100, Roger, who succeeded his father Robert, conferred additional privileges on the *schola*. That there was at this time, and had been for some time, a thoroughly organized college, is evident from the terms of the Rogerian precept or decree.

Roger II. in 1137 instituted the first state examinations in medicine. All those desirous to practise medicine had to pass an examination, at which royal assessors were present. Those who passed received a licence. Though the college gave the licence, it was given under the authority of the Crown. The penalty for practising without a licence was imprisonment and confiscation of goods. This

* To this visit is said to have been due the inscription of the famous Salernitan medical verses to "the King of England."

was done, the statute says, *ne in regno nostro subjecti periclitentur imperitia medicorum*. The sale of drugs was not regulated till some years later. Even for permission to practise surgery—an art practised in other countries for centuries after this by barbers—it was required by the Crown that there should be one year's attendance on lecturers who taught anatomy and chirurgy. The qualification to *teach* is not referred to. The degree in Paris, and other universities modelled on it, was, as we shall afterwards see, a *licencia docendi*; but in Salernum it was a *licencia medendi*, or licence to practise the healing art. I think, then, that we may date Salernum as a public school from A.D. 1060, and as a privileged school from 1100.

UNIVERSITY OF NAPLES.

Meanwhile, the general movement in the higher education had been making great progress at Bologna, Paris, Oxford, and at the specialized schools of Montpellier (medicine) and Orleans (civil law). St. Thomas Aquinas (born 1224) thus writes: "Quatuor sunt urbes cæteris præeinentes, Parisius in scientiis, Salernum in medicinis, Bononia in legibus, Aurelianis in actoribus" (pleaders). Salernum was an arts as well as a medical school, for the college demanded a three years' course in arts as a preliminary to a five years' course of medicine; but there did not exist in Southern Italy any school of law which could rival Bologna, or of theology which could rival Paris. But

Naples had for long had teachers of law, though of no great reputation, and the vicinity of the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino made it easy to constitute a school of theology. Accordingly, Frederick II., Emperor of the Romans (the most remarkable sovereign since Charlemagne), resolved in 1224 to constitute an university at Naples, which should embrace the studies of the three faculties, in addition, of course, to what we now call the arts, or preliminary course (the *trivium*). In the preamble to the constitution, he refers to Naples as having been for long the mother and home of studies. The various schools he professed merely to collect together as a *universitas studiorum*. Frederick desired *cujusque professionis vigere studia*, and to secure this resolved to appoint "doctores et magistros in qualibet facultate." In other words, Naples was to have no longer merely a loose aggregation of independent teachers, but an organized body with certain status, titles, privileges, and immunities. And this is what is meant by formally constituting an "university." It is the granting of a charter of incorporation to a community of learned men, securing these men as teachers in a certain position of dignity and emolument, and giving them as a corporate body powers to confer privileges in connection with the professions—the public mark of the privilege being called a licence or degree.

If any individual or body of individuals who may have received the licence or degree were, in their turn,

to claim a right to confer such licences and titles on others, they would manifestly usurp the function of the university—of which they are merely individual members. This has been done more than once, but it is an abnormal act. The corporation, again, is represented by the *governing* bodies. A duplication of a governing body would be a duplication of the university. No individual citizens or body of individuals can, by virtue of their mere citizenship, set up a system of police within the already existing municipal system. A recent proposal emanating from Edinburgh to incorporate certain medical graduates, already recognized as teaching for licences and degrees, as a collegium, is virtually a proposal to establish another university alongside the existing one, and this, too, a merely medical university. "The masters and doctors" of the said collegium would quickly and naturally agitate for the exclusion of the university professors from the post of examiners for degrees, and the appointment, in their stead, of State-examiners. Such proposals may or may not tend to the maintenance of a high standard of professional qualification, and to the advancement of science and learning—which two objects we take to be the aim of universities. I do not here discuss the question; but I would merely point out that such claims cannot logically stop short at one faculty, and that a successful issue to any such movement must end in the entire dissolution of the

“university,” as hitherto understood, or in the establishment of two—and why not three or four?—rival universities in the same town.

When Frederick constituted the University of Naples, his statutes show the conditions which he and his ministers then considered necessary to the existence of a university institution as distinguished from a mere gymnasium school, or from a voluntary aggregation of teachers :—

Firstly. The various scattered “schools” were ordered to be united as *one universitas studiorum*.

Secondly. This universitas had the royal sanction and protection, and was thus constituted (so to speak) the intellectual organ of the State.

Thirdly. The sovereign power called certain masters or doctors to act as professors.

Fourthly. The sovereign power guaranteed certain salaries to some, if not all, the recognized professors.

Fifthly. The sovereign power prohibited all competing schools within the kingdom (exception being, of course, made in favour of grammar schools), and imposed penalties on young men who ignored their own national university and went elsewhere.

Sixthly. The title of “professor” was conferred by the sovereign power on the *recognized doctors* of the “*universitas doctorum et scholarium*.” (It could not be assumed by any dancing-master or quack who chose, as in these days.)

Seventhly. The sovereign power granted the licence (or degree) through the High Chancellor or other State authority, to whom the student carried a faculty or university certificate that he had been duly examined and found qualified.

Eighthly. Professors were further freed from the payment of taxes and from service in war, and had other immunities. What these were it is difficult to say. The words used were, "*Liberi, franchi et immunes ab omnibus et singulis solutionibus.*" *

Ninthly. In *civil* causes the students were made subject to the university authorities alone. Lodging-houses were licensed and placed under supervision.

Naples was thus an university founded by the State solely, like Palencia in Spain, where St. Dominic studied and which was founded by Alonso VIII. in 1212.

Petrus de Hibernia was called by the sovereign to be the first professor of law, and Herasmus, a Benedictine monk, was invited to be the first "*theologiæ scientiæ professor.*" The course of study laid down was, as in the neighbouring College of Salernum, three years in arts and five years in medicine.

Notwithstanding the position thus assigned to the new university, the privileges of the Salernitan College, thirty miles distant, were preserved. The

* Ackermann, p. 84.

teachers there, with the prior at their head, were formally allowed to retain their right to grant licences and make *magistri*,—State assessors, or commissioners, being, however, associated with the doctors in the examinations.

The statutes of Frederick throw some light on the difference between a person qualified to practise (the proper title being *medicus*) and one qualified to teach (*magister* or *doctor*), but they do not settle the question. That, from the earliest times, the distinction was not clearly marked, follows from the fact that the title teacher or *doctor*, as well as the title *magister*, was assumed by the licensed practitioner, or at least popularly assigned to him. To teach or read (*legere*, whence lecture) was the function of the *magister* or *doctor*, and of no other; and in the thirty-fourth clause of Frederick's statute, section 4, it is ordered "that no one shall teach at Salernum or Naples, or assume the title of *magister* in medicine or surgery till carefully examined by the State officials and the masters of these arts." As this is made the subject of a separate clause, it is clear that, prior to 1224, the *licencia medendi* was one thing, and the *licencia legendi* or *docendi* another. It cannot be doubted that, just as universities grew out of the specialization of studies, so "professors," or privileged teachers, grew within the universities out of the specialization of parts of studies.

Certain statutes were at the same time passed for

the further regulation of the medical profession. For example, fees for attendance on patients were fixed by the State, and all physicians were required to promise to give their services to the poor gratuitously. It is interesting to note that Hippocrates, in the fifth century before Christ was wont to require his students to make a declaration to serve the poor without fee. Frederick further ordained that, even after the licence was granted, no young man should be allowed to practise until he had spent a year in the service of an established physician. The rule already in operation at Salernum, which required surgeons to study anatomy for a year, and pass an examination in surgery conducted by the "masters" of the medical faculty, was re-enacted at Naples. Physicians were prohibited from having any connection with the sale of drugs or with apothecaries' shops. These were all regulated and duly licensed.

We thus see, in the case of Salernum and Naples, how independent and voluntary schools gradually took the form of a studium generale or "university" in the large sense of these terms. It may be asked now, "Was the school at Salernum a university at all?" The answer is that, prior to the foundation of the University of Naples, it would be rightly called a studium generale or *universitas*, as we shall see when we come to speak of the historical meaning of this and other academic terms, but after the foun-

dation of the Neapolitan University it would be more correctly called a *collegium* or "faculty" of the University of Naples. And this although it had always a preliminary course in arts. Even after Salernum had a teacher of law (his epitaph, 1340, calls him *juris civilis professor*) it could not *doctorate* in law.*

* In 1252 Conrad II., finding the University of Naples unsuccessful, or rather dissolved, endeavoured to make Salernum the *studium generale* of all the faculties. It was probably after this that law was taught. But in 1258 Manfred restored the University of Naples, and Salernum fell back to its old place.

LECTURE VIII.

THE UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA.

IN speaking of mediæval education, we referred to the schools of law in Constantinople, Rome, and ^{Bae} Berytus (*legum nutrix*). In 554 Justinian confirmed the Roman school, securing its endowments. These schools continued till the beginning of the seventh century at least. At what date they ceased to exist is uncertain. A law school arose at Ravenna after the cessation of the Roman school and the transference of the seat of government. As Savigny points out, it is absurd to suppose that three endowed public schools could supply the wants of the Eastern and Western empires. Law in its higher aspects was taught at these schools alone : but at the provincial secondary schools, the addition of law, for the instruction and preparation of ordinary practitioners, was not uncommon ; and this long after these schools had ceased to have advanced teaching under the orator, or rhetorician, or sophist. Pope Leo IX., in 1054, refers to instruction in law as part of a

curriculum of what in other respects would be called a "Trivial" or secondary school. Alcuin mentions jurisprudence among the studies pursued at the York school in the latter portion of the eighth century. Of Lanfranc, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury (died 1089), it is stated that he studied at Pavia the "liberal arts and jurisprudence according to the custom of his native city, and soon acquired credit as a debater of law questions." * There is also evidence that law was part of the instruction at Orleans in the ninth century. Whether the school of law at Rome was finally removed to Ravenna or not, this final removal could not have taken place, according to Savigny, till the end of the tenth century. In 964 *judices* and *legis doctores* are spoken of as attending an ecclesiastical synod. Further evidence might be adduced; but what I have said suffices to show that, while "high schools" of jurisprudence, such as existed in the fifth and sixth centuries, had ceased to exist, Roman law continued to be taught in a few provincial grammar schools, and afterwards in some higher monastery schools.

Throughout the Middle Ages the Roman law, that is to say, the Code of Justinian, the Pandects, and the Institutions, were partially known. But such law as was taught north of the Alps was represented by the Theodosian Code. A few quotations from the Institutions or the Pandects in the

* Milonis Crispini Vita Lanfranci, cap. 5, quoted by Savigny.

writings of a monk here and there can scarcely satisfy us that these books were to be found in the monastic libraries. South of the Alps, manuscripts were to be found, but the study of these had practically ceased before the time of Charlemagne. I say practically ceased, for there were feeble survivals of a restricted law teaching which recognized the Justinian books, at Pavia, Ravenna, and Bologna.

It was the learning and earnest devotion of one mind—that of Irnerius—to the civil law which revived the study ; but had not time and circumstances favoured, the influence of Irnerius would have been as restricted and fleeting as that of Scotus Erigena two hundred years earlier in the field of metaphysics. The time was, however, ripe, and a combination of circumstances contributed to the revival of the teaching of Roman law at the beginning of the twelfth century. The municipalities, very many of which had never quite lost their Roman constitution, had recovered, especially in Lombardy, much of their ancient vigour, and consequently demanded a more thorough and scientific legal system. The gradual amalgamation of the population in Italy and beyond the Alps under civil and ecclesiastical influences, the universal diffusion of the Latin tongue, and the restitution of the Roman empire under its new spiritual form, facilitated the acceptance of the old Roman law. That it should have been at Bologna and not elsewhere that the new school arose, is to

be explained, partly by the vicinity of the still surviving law school at Ravenna, partly by the rise of Bologna itself to be one of the most populous and wealthy cities of Italy. This is all true; but still one man did the work, and that man was Irnerius (Werner, Guarnerius, Guernerius, etc.). Towards the end of the eleventh century he seems to have been a teacher in the Arts school at Bologna. We soon find him, however, professing the civil law, and afterwards taking his part in important affairs of state. As with the beginnings of all movements, we find legendary explanations of the causes which led Irnerius to the study and profession of the civil law. It is said that, having been consulted one day as to the meaning of a Latin legal term, he was led, by his inquiries into its signification, to enter into the whole subject of Roman law, and thereupon to "professing" it in connection with the school of arts where he was a master. Another account, repeated by Crevier, is that a manuscript of the Pandects of Justinian was discovered at the taking of Amalfi, and was sent to Irnerius to edit, he having already some reputation as a *causidicus*; and that, having accomplished this task, he thereafter devoted his life to the exposition of the whole civil law as contained in the Codex, the Institutions, Pandects, etc.

It is not necessary to accept either of these fables. The important fact is, that Irnerius was publicly teaching the civil law to all who chose to study it in

the first years of the twelfth century. It is not too much to say that this jurist rediscovered Roman law for Europe. It would be difficult to over-estimate the effects of his labours on the progress of civilization. The probable date of his birth was somewhere about the year 1070, and he died somewhere about 1138, after having attained great distinction both as a jurist and a judge.

To the school of law founded by Irnerius there flocked great numbers of youths, some of whom were preparing for ecclesiastical work, some for the work of lay practitioners or the secular service of the States to which they belonged. The lectures were public, and not in any way connected with a monastic institution. From Bologna the civil law travelled to many Italian towns, as well as to Angers and Orleans.

Here, again, we find confirmation of the view which we have taken of the causes which led to the rise of universities, in so far as these are to be distinguished from the ordinary monastic gymnasia and cathedral schools. One Italian writer speaks of the school of Bologna as an *archigymnasium*. But it was an archigymnasium differentiated from an ordinary arts gymnasium, not by the fact that it carried farther the general Arts studies of the gymnasium, which there is no evidence that it did, but rather by the fact that it *specialized* a department of study, and professed to teach it in all its extent to youths beyond the Arts stage of progress. In Salernum, as we said,

this specialization was due to the intellectual activity of a few individuals, and to the accumulation of the stock of Greek and Arabic medical lore, which made a thorough knowledge of the whole field impossible for any one save a specialist. So now, in Bologna, we see a specialization of the study of civil law—to which was soon added the canon law—under the influence of a single mind. As the Salernitan, so the new Bononian university school, was not founded, but grew out of small beginnings, under the general intellectual impulse of the time. Neither the one centre of learning nor the other was called an “university” in our modern sense, but constantly a “universitas” in the then sense of a “community.” The institution was called a *schola* or *studium*, or, more generally (but only after a considerable period), a *studium publicum* or *generale*, i.e. a school open to all, free from the conditions of monastic vows or monastic discipline in any form, and where the curriculum of arts was taught as well as the specialized study of the universitas.*

As in many other Mediterranean towns, so in Bologna, the old Roman school of Arts, which reached its highest ideal conception under Quintilian, seems never to have quite died out. It survived under Christian influences. There was such a school in 450 A.D. Charlemagne and his grandson Lothair did

* But the arts were not at first drawn into the *university system*, except at Paris and in England.

much in the ninth century, as I have pointed out, to stimulate this and other Italian institutions, and here, in the eleventh century, we find Irnerius at first teaching the ordinary curriculum of the trivium and quadrivium.* Bologna had shortly before this become a free town, and we cannot doubt that this accession of dignity, and the introduction of self-government, would give a fresh impulse to all the civic institutions, including schools.

The first formal recognition of the universitas of Bologna was by Frederick I., in 1158, when the leading juridical doctors were Bulgarus, Jacob, Martin, and Hugo. This "privilege," however, was based on the assumption that the school was already a flourishing one, with recognized usages, and it directed itself mainly to securing protection for travelling students and resident aliens, giving them the right of being judged by their own dominus or magister, or by the bishop. This right extended to criminal as well as civil cases, and long existed. It was only after this date that Bologna was a formally privileged studium.

The university statutes of 1254 were formally confirmed by the then pope; but the action of Pope Honorius III., in 1216, to which we shall have immediately to refer, was itself as valid as a formal confirmation of consuetudinary laws.

Irnerius had distinguished pupils, who, as doctors of law, maintained the reputation of the school after

* There is no evidence that this was a cathedral school.

his death. It became known as the "Mother of Laws," and attracted ever-increasing numbers from all Europe. When Frederick II. established the University of Naples in 1224, he did so partly, as he himself states, to bring the best teaching within reach of the youth of Southern Italy, and to make it unnecessary for them to travel to Bologna. He was also influenced by the disputes which had already arisen between town and gown in Bologna, and which gave rise to frequent breaches of the law.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the time of the celebrated jurist Azo, there were, it is said, already 10,000 students at Bologna, and in the time of Roger Bacon there were 20,000. So large a body of youth, and among them hundreds of mature men, collected in one small town soon felt the necessity of organization, with a view to mutual help and to common protection against civic interference. They had not at first, let it be remembered, the defence which the monastic and conventual establishments had always found in the all-powerful protection of their own recognized constitutions and the supreme protection of the pope. Here, in fact, was a new kind of community altogether,—new in the history of Christendom at least,—essentially lay in its characteristics, and yet so far connected with the monkish orders that it had intellectual and moral aims. Already the example of organizations within the existing municipal organizations was before

them. The trade guilds and the order of chivalry were within the knowledge of all. Accordingly, students from the same part of the world naturally imitated these institutions and coalesced into groups of communities, loosely held together, perhaps, but yet recognizing that they had common interests. Thus arose the "nations," so famous in all university history, to one or other of which all students belonged. They constituted free self-governing societies within the *universitas*.*

These "nations" existed in the latter half of the twelfth century, if not earlier. Through their *consiliarii* (or procurators, as they were called in Paris) they gradually acquired certain student privileges, among which the most important was the right, formally conceded by Frederick I., of being judged by the university authorities, and this even in criminal cases.

That there was a tendency to abuse these privileges, especially in the democratic University of Bologna, is certain. The civic power granted or acquiesced in the assumption of many rights, and condoned even many licences, because they were afraid to lose the students. There were no university buildings of any importance: the doctors taught in their own houses or in hired apartments; and it would have been an easy thing for the whole university to migrate, and desert the town, which owed much of its prosperity

* The students *who belonged to the town of Bologna* were not included in the "nations."

to them ; and this threat, indeed, was often held over magistrates. At the same time it lay with the doctors rather than the pupils to migrate, and this gave additional authority to the doctors, and enabled them to keep the civic magistracy in awe of their power ; indeed, they feared them so much that they ultimately demanded from them an oath, on their entering office, that they would not teach elsewhere. On the other hand, the students, when other schools arose, could keep the doctors in subjection by threatening to leave in a body and study elsewhere.

It was not while the "nations" were numerous and divided that they were a source of danger to the discipline of the university and the supremacy of the civic power. But when they began to combine and to pass their own laws, and look to a rector elected by themselves for guidance and protection ; and especially when this tendency to union with a view to strength resulted in the combination of the various bodies into two,—*universitas citramontanorum* and *universitas ultramontanorum* (1210–1220),—the doctors, in whom the sovereign authority lay, and who exercised it in harmony with the civil power, would naturally feel anxious. The *universitas ultramontanorum* was composed of eighteen nations, the *universitas citramontanorum* of seventeen. Each *universitas* elected its own rector and other university authorities.* Each of these

* It is not till the beginning of the sixteenth century that we find only one rector.

united bodies practically constituted themselves into two powerful corporations within the university. The students had now virtually superseded the doctors in the government.

Accordingly, at the instigation of the latter, the magistrates of Bologna endeavoured by a civil enactment to restrict the student organizations. Hence many strifes; and it is to this kind of antagonism between civic authorities and university authorities, and the difficulties arising out of the conflicting municipal and university jurisdictions, that we owe the long series of town-and-gown riots which once had a meaning, but which are now mere ghostly survivals of defunct realities. The students, being hard pressed by the doctors of civil law and magistrates combined, finally resolved to appeal to the pope, who would be (as may be supposed) very ready to interfere, as he thereby had his own supreme authority over the rising university school acknowledged. The students boldly alleged that their customary rights were being interfered with, and that the magistrates, and not they, were infringing the law. Pope Honorius III. (died 1216), a man reputed learned and pious, took the part of the students, and ordered the magistracy of Bologna to respect their rights. In the pope's epistle, he says that the new municipal statutes were unjust and in the teeth of scholastic liberty, and of an ancient freedom up to that time

exercised.* Rights and privileges, and a certain constitutional organization, had been simply assumed by the rising school, and formally recognized by Frederick I.; the civic power had either aided and abetted the organizations in their claims, or acquiesced in their acts. It was now too late to interfere.

This gradual assumption of rights has to be specially noted in connection with the rise of all universities prior to that of Naples (1224). Padua was so destitute of civil or papal charters, that the question at one time arose whether it was entitled to exercise the university powers which it assumed, and distinguished jurists decided that long usage was as good a title as any papal bull or royal charter, if not, indeed, a better title. Nothing, indeed, can more strikingly illustrate the true primary character of a university, as simply a voluntary association of teachers (Doctores, Magistri) and learners usurping to themselves certain rights and privileges, than the origin of Padua. The disputes at Bologna caused a secession which established itself in Padua, and of its own motion called itself the *studium generale* of Padua, and began to discharge the duties and exercise the rights of such a body. This was in 1222. Vicenza arose in a similar way in 1204. It was not till 1228 A.D. that Padua had any formal recogni-

* "Statuta . . . sunt iniqua et manifesté obviant scholasticæ libertati . . . contra libertatem hactenus habitam," etc.

tion, and it even seems to be doubtful if we can date this before the "letters" of Urban IV., thirty years later.

It was not till 1158, as I have already stated, that Bologna was formally recognized, and this by letters of privilege issued by Frederick I. These letters of privilege, I have also pointed out, assumed already existing usages. One can easily understand that, where local questions as to the powers of the university body arose, the authorities would take steps to get something of the nature of statutory definition from either pope or prince, as Bologna afterwards did in 1254. This was manifestly the case again and again with Paris, which, as the centre of theological teaching, bore always a closer relation to the pope than the Italian schools, and was fondly called the Mother of Universities and the Sinai of the Middle Ages.

The papal recognition was always of great importance, if not essential, to universities. It brought the power of the Church, then dominating all civil powers, to the help of the young communities as schools of learning, and gave universal European validity to the degrees which the protected university might confer, and not merely to the doctorship, as has been sometimes said. A *licentia docendi* in a papal university, whether it took the form of a mastership of arts, as in Paris, or of a doctorship, as in Italy, entitled the holder to teach at any university seat in

Christendom. The popes had no jealousy of the universities. On the contrary, they hastened to recognize them. It may be that they astutely saw that, by conferring privileges, they indirectly acquired rights over both teachers and students.

But, the rescripts proceeding from the papal chair in favour of universities were not, in the case of the earliest universities, bulls or charters of foundation, but letters of privilege issued simply for the purpose of strengthening the infant communities. Though Bologna, Padua, and Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, received many such letters, none of these studia was formally constituted an university by the pope. It is only after the erection of the University of Naples by Frederick II. in 1224 that we find the pope formally instituting universities; and this right continued to be exercised by him till the Reformation, generally in conjunction with the civil power.

As to the governing authority: At Bologna, a rector, elected by the outgoing rector, the consiliarii, and the general body of students, held office for one year, and wielded great power during his term. No member of a monastic order could hold the rectorship. The teaching doctors or professors, no less than the students, were subject to the rectors. A professor could not leave his duties for a few days without obtaining formal permission from him, and if the term of absence exceeded eight days, he had to get permission from the whole university. So entirely

were the professors kept subject to the whole university, that they were disqualified for university official positions. Their statutory position and rights were little better than those of the students. But in their capacity of scholars or students the professors exercised power along with those they taught. It was merely *qua* professors that they had no additional prerogatives. The councillors (*consiliarii*) whom I have named above, sat with each rector. They represented the separate nations, and were elected by them. There were, accordingly, eighteen councillors sitting with the rector of the Ultramontani, and seventeen with the rector of the Citramontani. The only other officers were a syndic, who represented both universitates before other courts, a notary, a treasurer, and two beadles.

The doctors held in their hands, however, the management of the schools and of promotions. In the latter half of the thirteenth century, also, they formed themselves into colleges, and so strengthened their position relatively to the universitas. The term "doctor," I need scarcely repeat, was simply equivalent to "master."

The system of lectures, repetitions, and disputations seems to have been very strictly organized.

For the degree of doctor there were two examinations, a private and a public, and the degree was conferred in the cathedral by the archdeacon. The private examination gave the title of licentiate—the

licencia docendi; but only after the public examination was the title of doctor conferred (this, after a certain date, by the archdeacon who was Cancellarius). As I shall recur to the graduation system in a future lecture, this brief statement will suffice here.

The canon law, or *Decretum*, was added to the Bononian studies shortly before the recognition of Frederick I. Schools of arts and medicine, as part of the academic organization, did not exist till 1316; but for a considerable period before this, both arts and medical professors taught in connection with the university, but formed no part of its constitution. The school of theology was not added till 1360 by Innocent VI.* These subjects, however, did not flourish in Italy, the home of jurisprudence. Dante complains of the exclusive academic devotion to law. But the truth is, legal studies were the best passport to high office and profitable employment.

The Bolognese, notwithstanding numerous contests with the academical authorities, were proud of their university. Both scholars and teachers were held in respect, and exempted from military service, and from all taxes and imposts whatsoever. The municipal authorities also united with the university authorities in protecting the students from the overcharges of lodging-house keepers. The notary of the university kept a list of approved lodgings, and the civic authorities fixed the price of them.

* Savigny, xxi. 67.

Towards the latter half of the fourteenth century we find Bologna fully developed. There were then four "universitates"—the two juristic formerly mentioned, the artist and medical *as one*, and the theological, but all these parts of one studium generale. The theological university was constituted on the model of Paris, and was a *universitas magistrorum* only, not *scholarium*. The theological students, when they sought to share in the general privileges of the university, did so as "artists" or arts students.* It cannot escape the notice of the reader that in these Bononian "universitates," as finally constituted, we simply have what we now call "faculties." In 1338 there were twenty-seven professors of civil law, twelve of canon law, fourteen of medicine, fifteen of arts, *i.e.* grammarians and teachers of the notarial art.

* A student in the theological faculty would also be a magister artium, and so an artist.

LECTURE IX.

UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

AS at Bologna and Salernum, there was at Paris a well-known Arts school, that of Notre Dame, before the rise of an university. At the two former I consider that the universities were offshoots of the schools; but at Paris the universitas arose *directly out of* the Arts school, and from the first enjoyed such privileges as were possessed by the claustral or cathedral school. It does not clearly appear to what extent the suburban schools of St. Geneviève and St. Victor contributed to the formation of the universitas, but they could not but have had great influence.

In the Paris school, in the beginning of the eleventh century, a learned monk, William of Champeaux, taught theology. A still more famous theological school, however, existed at Bec, in Normandy, presided over by Lanfranc, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; while Rheims and Chartres were also important centres of instruction. It was at Bec, not Paris, that Anselm studied in 1060, succeeding

Lancfranc as head of that monastery and school, and subsequently following him as Archbishop of Canterbury, to which primacy he was appointed in 1093. That the intellect of the Church was deeply stirred at this time is evident from the reception accorded to Anselm's writings. He endeavoured, in full submission to the faith, to rationalize Christian doctrine, and was himself of so ardent a nature that it is highly probable that we should have had to name him and not Abelard as giving the first intellectual impulse which initiated the University of Paris, had he not been preoccupied by his work at Bec and Canterbury.

When Anselm became Archbishop of Canterbury, Abelard was only fourteen years old. This remarkable man sacrificed high prospects in a secular career in order to devote himself to theology and philosophy, preferring, as he said, to enrol himself under the standard of Minerva rather than that of Mars. A few years before this ardent and ambitious youth betook himself to study, John Roscelin, a native of Brittany and Canon of Compiègne, had begun to speculate on the nature of abstract concepts and terms, and had laid the foundation of the doctrine of Nominalism.* Abelard became a pupil and a promulgator of his philosophy. From Roscelin and Anselm, Abelard drew his first inspiration. William of Champeaux,

* The discussions on universals is said to have started from a passage in Porphyry's "Isagoge," a book studied in the monasteries.

pupil of Anselm, surnamed the "Pillar of Doctors," was at this time at the head of the Episcopal (or Cloister) School of Paris, where the usual course in arts (both *trivium* and *quadrivium*) was taught. This school was then the most famous in Europe, and had been raised under William to a higher eminence than it had ever before held. In truth, it so entirely outstripped its rivals under his presidency, that we might almost regard him as the founder of the university as a specialized school.

Abelard could not have been more than a boy when he came to Paris to pursue his studies there. For, as early as 1102, when he was only twenty-three years of age, we find that, after having questioned the doctrines of his master, and incurred his serious displeasure by his independence of opinion, and doubtless also by the youthful sauciness of his argumentation he opened a school of dialectic of his own at Melun. In 1113 we find him, after many successes and reverses, teaching theology as well as dialectic, as the head of the Paris school, William of Champeaux having been meanwhile promoted to the bishopric of Chalons-sur-Marne.

It would be out of place here to follow the romantic and tragic story of Abelard. Our concern is simply with his relations to the intellectual movements of Europe, and the universities which grew out of them. Having had to retire from the Paris school owing to the scandal which arose out of the mis-

fortunes and indiscretions of his career, he retired into the monastic life; but he afterwards reopened his school at St. Denis, where he had become a Benedictine monk at the same time that Heloise took the veil at Argenteuil. He was now thirty-six or thirty-seven years of age. It was only at the urgent solicitation of crowds of students that he consented again to teach. He taught in a hospitium attached to the monastery, and it is said that his students numbered at one time three thousand, and included youths from all parts of Europe. The jealousy of the doctors of the Paris school, and the suspicions of heresy under which he fell, ultimately drove him to take refuge in Champagne, where he built a hut in a desert place, six miles from Nogent-sur-Seine, and called it Paraclete, or "The Consolation." But he was not allowed to remain and nurse his melancholy in solitude. Students again began to crowd round him, and, erecting tents and mud huts covered with thatch, they prosecuted their studies in the wilds, contenting themselves with the simplest rustic fare. With their own hands, it is said, they rebuilt with stone the oratory which he had himself built with reeds and thatch. Thus was what might quite correctly be called the University of Paris now transferred from St. Denis to the forests of France. From this retreat Abelard had, however, again to seek safety in flight. The doctors of the Church, with St. Norbert and St. Bernard at their head, did not cease to denounce

over page

him to the pope as a heretic. "The human mind," writes St. Bernard to the pope, "usurps everything, leaves nothing to faith." Here we see for the first time, and this in France, the intimate connection of the university movement with freedom of inquiry. It is, in truth, to the free activity of the human mind in dealing with questions of abstract philosophy and theology, that we are indebted primarily for the scientific spirit. It was not the study of physical science which, either in the eleventh or twelfth, or afterwards in the fifteenth century, gained for mankind liberty of thought. This was the work of the philosopher and the man of letters. Physical science entered into the possession of a kingdom of liberty already conquered.

Abelard, after having been twice condemned by Church councils, died in 1142 in the Abbey of Clugni.* But the impulse he had given to philosophic disputation remained, and Paris, under his pupils and their rivals, became the centre of a higher *specialized* school of philosophy and theology, to which students continued to flock from all parts of Europe. In this way the University of Paris, as distinguished from the Arts school, began. The theory of the rise of universities, which alone seems to me to interpret historical facts in the case of Salernum and Bologna, is thus, in the case of Paris, further confirmed. For in what respect did the school of Abelard differ from that of William

* Strictly speaking, in a dependence of this abbey situated at Chalons, to which he had been sent for the bettering of his health.

of Champeaux, which was a famous school of arts, including theology? Only in this—that it was a *specialized* school of theology and its handmaid philosophy, intended for those who desired to continue their studies beyond the school age, open to all, and independent of monastic or canonical obligations—a *studium generale*. Hence numerous masters to meet the demand. As their number increased, organization became necessary.

Note also that in the eleventh century it became the custom to require priests to learn by heart the decrees of councils and other Church laws. This body of ecclesiastical legislation, known as the Body of the Canon Law or the *Decretum*, had reached such proportions and complexity as to demand that *specialized* treatment which it now received at Paris alongside of theology.

Having now indicated generally the origin of the Paris University as an *intellectual* movement, let us look for a moment at its historical antecedents.

Although I hold that Abelard was to Paris what Constantinus was to Salernum, and Irnerius to Bologna, I am well aware that, prior to the appearance of Abelard on the scene, the Paris school had been for long a much-frequented and active centre of learning,* and, indeed, had never lost the impulse given to it

* Whether this centre was a monastery school or cathedral school (or a palatine school, as Bulaeus thinks, and as Crevier is disposed to think) matters little. It was the recognized arts school of Paris, and,

by the Carolingian revival. A monk of Auxerre, the well-known Remi, had lectured publicly at Paris on dialectic and music about 900 A.D.* He died about 908. That he had successors there can be no doubt, for in 960 A.D., Abbon, subsequently Abbot of Fleuri, after having directed the studies of his monastery for some years, betook himself to Paris to extend his own knowledge. In 990 Bulaeus (i. p. 313) says that a canon of Liège, named Hubold, had a large school at Paris in connection with the chapter of St. Geneviève. Crevier also concurs. Public lectures were delivered by Lambert in 1022, and he acquired wealth by his teaching. In the middle of the same century a Parisian, named Drogon, lectured. The Pole St. Stanislas, afterwards Bishop of Cracovia, came to Paris about this time to complete his studies. Other men, afterwards holding high offices in the Church, resorted to Paris for instruction towards the end of the eleventh century; and in 1053 it is stated that Valram, who had already studied at Bec under Lanfranc, came to Paris to lecture. Manegolde, a German, lectured in various towns of France, and ultimately at Paris in 1082. Crevier relates that this Manegolde was married to a cultivated wife, and that his daughters afterwards opened a school in Paris for girls—an interesting fact in the history of education.

as closely connected with the cathedral of Notre Dame, was most probably a cathedral school with some monastic ties.

* *Acta Sanc. Ord. Ben.*, tom. vii. p. 151. Also Crevier, i. p. 67, quoted by Viriville.

One of Manegolde's pupils was the celebrated William of Champeaux, who, Villivry says, succeeded him as master of the Paris school. It is in connection with the above facts* that the question of the precise point at which the school of arts grew into an university becomes a question as interesting as it is difficult. This is certain, that William of Champeaux became master of the cathedral school, and lectured specially and publicly, like his predecessors, on theology, and that under him Paris outstripped all its rivals, and became the recognized European centre of theological instruction. If further evidence be needed as to the pre-eminence of Paris as a central school in the end of the eleventh century, it will be found in a letter of Anselm's, written about 1090, when he was still Abbot of Bec. In this letter he refers to one of his monks—"qui propter scholas moratur apud Parisium et conversatur in monasterio S. Maglorii."†

The specialized study of theology and canon law, wherever it existed, attracted students who had completed their monastery or cathedral course in arts, or as much of it as they meant to take, and who intended to continue in the service of the Church. This habit of seeking instruction at learned centres existed, as I have shown, throughout the eleventh

* For which I do not cite authorities, because the evidence is so ample. But in what sense Champeaux succeeded Manegolde is an open question.

† Quoted by Mabillon, in "*De Studiis Monasticis*," pt. i. c. 12.

century, and, indeed, to some extent in the tenth. Accordingly, many other centres of study than Paris, Bologna, and Salernum might have become the first universities, had the accidents of time and place favoured them. Bec in Normandy, for example, was a greater theological school in the beginning of the eleventh century than either Paris or Rome; and in the time of Lanfranc it was much frequented. In the prolegomena to a mystical explanation of the Song of Solomon by Wiliramus there occurs the following passage: "Unum in Francia comperi Lanfrancum nomine, autem maxime valentem in dialectica, nunc ad ecclesiastica se contulisse studia . . . ad quem audiendum cum *multi nostratum* (i.e. Germanorum) confluant," etc., etc. (quoted by Specht). But such local schools had to give way before the superior attractions and facilities of access and of living which towns like Paris afforded. In the time of William of Champeaux Paris finally established its supremacy. "When one hears William of Champeaux," writes a contemporary, "one believes that an angel from heaven is speaking, not a man."

Thirty years after William ceased to teach, John of Salisbury spent twelve years as a student in Paris, beginning in 1136, and from him we learn that there then existed in Paris a large number of able masters who taught arts and theology in *their own* schools. He himself names twelve, whom he either attended or personally knew. But as yet no common bond

united them. They were not a community living under general rules, and therefore not a *universitas*. The number of students who gathered round those teachers was very great. We begin to form some conception of the quality as well as the quantity of the auditors when we read that, of Abelard's pupils alone, twenty became cardinals, and fifty bishops or archbishops. The crowd of scholars had made it necessary to restrict the cloistral central school, at least in so far as its precincts afforded a residence, to members of the Church of Paris, so early as 1127. Foreigners had to seek accommodation elsewhere.

When William of Champeaux was lecturing in 1097, and had among his pupils Abelard, the lectures were public, and the school was a *schola publica*. There were other schools held in the houses of St. Victor and St. Geneviève. Whether these latter were originally "public" schools or not, we know that the central school of arts, held in the cloister of Notre Dame, was certainly public, and had probably retained its "public" character from the time of Charlemagne. Other public schools arose about this time in the district afterwards called the "university"—many of these, doubtless, confining their curriculum to the trivium. The only restriction in opening a school was that it should be in the vicinity of the principal school. In this central school canon law as well as theology were publicly taught,—the former certainly after the *Decretum* of Gratian, dated 1151, if not before.

While, therefore, we find in the impulse Abelard gave to philosophy the force that finally converted the arts school of Paris into a universitas, we see that public teaching had long existed. But, spite of this, it would be inaccurate to say that the central and surrounding schools actually constituted a universitas *much before* 1140, for, although there was specialized instruction of a public character, there was no free literary organization of masters. The spirit and essence of a studium generale was there, but not yet the form. It was in the reign of Louis VII., who ascended the throne in 1135, that privileges were first conferred on the Paris school; that is to say, in addition to those already adhering to it as an evolution of the old arts school of Notre Dame. If we further bear in mind that Alexander III., who ascended the papal chair in 1159, issued two bulls in favour of the rising school, in both of which it is recognized as an organization of some duration, we are justified, I think, in concluding that the Paris cathedral school never lost the impulse given to it by Charlemagne, that throughout the whole of the eleventh century it was an active centre both of theology and canon law, as well as of arts; further, that it had not begun to free itself from the canonical organization till about 1100, under William, and that it did not wholly free itself until the specialization into a great theological and philosophical school was finally determined by the genius of Abelard. It was just

about the time of Abelard's death, in fact, that the large and ever-increasing concourse of students not only testified to the celebrity of the new centre of learning, but led to the division of the students into "nations" for purposes of mutual intercourse and protection; but this as yet in a quite rudimentary and tentative form.

Peter the Lombard lectured 1145-1159. The marking of the progress of studies by means of degrees seems to have begun during his regency, but this as yet in a somewhat irregular fashion. Nations existed about 1150 in some form more or less lax; but they were certainly not yet organized. The offer of Henry II. of England to appeal his quarrel with Thomas of Canterbury to the school of Paris makes mention of the nations, at least as *provincial* unions.

But the "nations" were not the University of Paris, nor did they form the original basis of its organization. The numerous masters of arts, with the addition of the masters of theology and canon law, constituted the starting-point of the university as an *organization*. If degrees began to be given before 1159, it follows that the masters were organized in some fashion before that date; nay, that those teaching arts, theology, and canon law had respectively some understanding among themselves which, though not constituting them faculties in the later sense, were certainly the beginnings of faculties. Matthew of Paris relates that

Jean de la Celle, elected Abbot of St. Alban's in 1195, had studied at Paris, and had been admitted there *ad electorum consortium magistrorum*. The masters evidently held meetings and regulated all matters connected with instruction, and thus formed the first development of the studium generale out of the original school of arts. It would be superfluous to show that this was all both natural and necessary! True, both theology and the Decree were spoken of in the twelfth century as *artes liberales*, and the word "faculty," where it occurs, is simply equivalent to subject or department of study, but none the less were the beginnings of what afterwards became "faculties" then visible. And this beginning of the university in a consortium magistrorum influenced the organization of the universitas throughout its whole history. Paris, in fact, was commonly differentiated as a universitas magistrorum, although it called itself in its official documents a universitas magistrorum et scholarium, and the pope so addressed it. Thus the public arts school of Notre Dame took the first great step in its new evolution.

The above view of the rise of the University of Paris furnishes an explanation of many of its peculiarities. For example; it was because it was the centre of theological learning that it received so many privileges from the pope, and was kept in such close relation to the papal see by a continuous succession of bulls: again, it was because it remained an arts

school that its students were so young. The students of Bologna and Padua were much older than those of Paris, because the specific professional studies for which these universities were famous began only after the conclusion of an arts course. The quiet supersession of the old episcopal arts school by the *university* teaching of arts is also now quite intelligible. As soon as Paris became an European centre of education, it would be impossible for one cathedral school to accommodate all seeking admission, however willing the authorities might be to receive them. It was thus that various schools were opened, and that ere long teachers arose in connection with the nations, who carried the boys, who came from all parts of Europe, through a course precisely similar to that given in the monastery and cathedral schools; that is to say, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, including under grammar the study (but a restricted one) of Latin authors.

All the facts known to us seem to support the view I have set forth. For example, William of Champeaux delivered his lectures first in the episcopal palace, and afterwards removed to the Priory of St. Victor on the other side of the Seine. Abelard, too, seems to have lectured in the episcopal palace till he had to take refuge on the hill of St. Geneviève. Thereafter, the arts school specially attached to the cathedral broke up and took other quarters, theology and the Decree alone continuing to be taught there. Then, after the

formation of the students into nations, four halls were erected by the four nations respectively, where the students of each nation received instruction. But, outside these halls, any licentiate (*i.e.* master) might hire a room and advertise his lectures; and thus in the course of time arose the *Quartier Latin*, so called because inhabited almost solely by masters and scholars. There were hundreds of masters. In 1348 there were 514 actu regentes in arts alone, not to speak of other faculties. There were no special university buildings. Even for their great assemblies the authorities had to borrow the Church of St. Maturin.

[The scholars who frequented these various schools were very numerous, but they were also, as I have said, very young. In the thirteenth century Bulaeus tells us that it was necessary to pass a statute excluding from the university all under twelve years of age. The fact that the mediæval universities of Oxford and Paris included in their organization the work of grammar schools explains the large attendance at these seats of learning. Accordingly, when we hear of twenty thousand or thirty thousand students,* we have to bear in mind that boys came to these university centres to receive secondary instruction, which terminated with the bachelor's degree. It has

* Some are disposed to throw doubt on these large numbers. Döllinger, however ("Die Universitäten sonst und jetzt"), quotes the general procurator, Arnould, for the number (20,000 to 30,000) at a much later period, when there were rival universities.

also to be noted that the personal attendants of the wealthier students, and the college cooks and servitors, were matriculated as *cives*, in order that they might share the privileges and protection of person, which were extended by royal charter or papal bull to the universitas as a whole. We are not to conclude that a large proportion of these students went forward either to professional or scientific studies. It was, in fact, partly with a view to retain men, after graduation, in the interests of learning and science, that collegiate foundations arose, and partly for the purpose of providing gratuitous maintenance for poor scholars. These objects of collegiate foundations have been too often forgotten by Oxford and Cambridge. Every pursuit outside the professional or money-making had, in mediæval times even more than in our own, to be artificially fostered. But even in these days, it is generally believed that the scientific investigator, in the field of either matter or mind, has not so good a chance of obtaining recognition at our English universities as those who possess, not knowledge, but a mere instrument of knowledge in the shape of a minute acquaintance with the tongues in which Latins and Greeks wrote.

As to the study of Law in Paris: I have pointed out that instruction had frequently been given in the monastery schools in the Theodosian Code after the seventh century, and that Charlemagne to some extent revived the study. When we see it stated that the

canonists in the beginning of the twelfth century taught civil law in Paris, this teaching (if prior to the death of Irnerius, 1138?) must have been of a very fragmentary kind. The Church, in fact, never looked with favour on the study of the civil law at Paris. It was regarded by others than ecclesiastics as lowering the scientific character of universities, and as training a class of mere practitioners. It is on the surface, too, that the Church could not look with much favour on the rise of a rival to the canon law. The civil law is the law of the *civis*; it is the law of the state, not of the Church, and is the bulwark of liberty. At Paris, above all—the centre of theological thought and ecclesiastical jurisprudence—it was felt to be necessary to protest against the intruder. Accordingly Pope Honorius III. (1216–1227) prohibited the teaching of it in Paris; and it was authoritatively taught there only after 1679. Meanwhile it was the specialty of Orleans and other towns of France and also of Italy.

Medicine was not taught at Paris during the twelfth century. John of Salisbury, writing as late as 1160, says that those who desired to study medicine had to go to Salernum or Montpellier. But the names of distinguished physicians occur in the Parisian records after this date, and the subject was formally taught not later than 1200. Degrees or licences in medicine were conferred in 1231.

Thus by the year 1200 we find Paris an active

and flourishing high school of theology (this subject still classed, however, as one of the liberal arts), of arts, canon law, and medicine, and organized as a *universitas magistrorum*, with a more or less lax organization of the students into nations. At the same time, the silence of Robert de Courçon, the papal legate sent to settle differences that had arisen, leads to the conclusion that canon law and medicine had not in 1215 assumed any prominence in the university work. "The foundations of the university," says Bonaventura, "were laid in arts; law and physics were the walls, and divinity the roof of the academic system." The formation of the faculties will be referred to in a subsequent lecture.

Privileges.—In evolving itself, the rising studium generale school carried, I say, with it the privileges of the Paris arts school. How else can we explain the reference to "ancient" privileges by Pope Alexander III. (1159)? But it also carried with it the superintendence of the Chancellor of Notre Dame. In the future history of the *universitas magistrorum et scholarium* and the chancellor were a matter of constant contention, until the latter were restricted to the merely formal conferring of degrees. As regards further privileges, we do not need a knowledge of the facts to understand what a consortium magistrorum, with a large and increasing number of students,

would seek to acquire. They would naturally assume and demand the recognition of their inner autonomy and their control over the testing of the qualifications of those who sought to join them. They would also seek protection from the interference of alien powers such as already was possessed by the clerus; and if they could not secure endowments, they would yet seek to obtain such immunities from public service and from taxation as had been possessed by the sophists and orators of the Roman empire, as well as by the Church. In default of liberal local recognition of their presumed rights, they would go to king, emperor, or pope, and so transfer their allegiance from the civic to the civil power, and if necessary from the civil to the supreme ecclesiastical authority—the pope. And this is precisely what the early universitates did.

The privileges which they gradually acquired were due in Paris, as in Bologna and elsewhere, to two causes—the desire to foster learning, and the desire of the civic authorities to give dignity to their town, and to attract students who came in such numbers as to be of great value to local trade. But larger and more liberal views prevailed among governing men. [“We owe,” says Frederic Barbarossa in 1158, “our protection to all our subjects, but above all to those whose knowledge enlightens the world, and whose teachings instruct our people in their duty to obey God and us who are the ministers of the divine power.”]

The circumstances which led to a ratification and further extension by Philip Augustus, in 1200, of the privileges already enjoyed by the University of Paris under the edicts of Louis VII. and the Papal Letters, or simply assumed without being questioned, are worth relating as throwing light on the way in which the earliest universities acquired an extension of their immunities and prerogatives, and became independent and autonomous communities. The servant of a member of the university (the Archdeacon of Liège) having been sent to fetch wine for his master, quarrelled with some one in the tavern, was beaten, and had his flask broken. As both servant and master belonged to the English nation, a crowd of students of this nation attacked the tavern-keeper's house, and left him for dead. The Paris citizens, with the provost at their head, rose to take vengeance, and, attacking the English boarding-house or hostel, slew several of the inmates, including the member of the university who had sent for the wine. The teachers of the university at once indignantly sought satisfaction from the king; and he, fearing that the masters and their scholars would leave Paris in disgust, punished the provost of the town and his subordinates with great severity, and gave fresh privileges to the university which should protect them from all such exercises of civic authority in the future. The popes, too, supported this view of university privilege, and even restricted (though not

till afterwards, in the time of Honorius III., afterwards confirmed by Gregory IX.) the episcopal power of excommunicating members of the University of Paris without the approval of the Holy See being first obtained.) Thus the university was protected in its privileges on both sides—the civic and the ecclesiastical. In 1229, under Gregory IX., we find the chancellor finally restricted to the formal and purely ministerial act of granting the *licentia*.

“What rendered the University of Paris especially powerful [but Paris was no exception to other schools], nay, positively formidable, was,” says Savigny, “its poverty. The university itself, the faculties, the nations, were one and all of them poor, and even the colleges, burdened with many expenses, could by no means be described as wealthy. The university did not possess so much as a building of its own, but was commonly obliged to hold its meetings in the cloisters of friendly monastic orders. Its existence and power thus assumed a purely spiritual character, and was rendered permanently independent of the temporal authority.” *

The next most important events, after the extension of privileges by Philip Augustus in 1200, were unquestionably the disruption of 1229 and the separation of the theological faculty from that of arts; or rather, let us say, the formal institution,

* Quoted by Mr. Kirkpatrick, p. 205.

for the first time, of a specific theological faculty, which took place in 1270. I say the "formal" institution, for the "*Littera universitatis magistrorum et scholarium Parisiis studentium*" of 1254 recognizes the existence of four faculties—theology, canon law, medicine, and philosophy—comparing them to the four rivers of Paradise. It was only after this date, however, that they had a formal existence.

The disruption to which we have above alluded, and which preceded the formal institution of the theological faculty by forty years, was caused by a town-and-gown riot, in which Queen Blanche, under the advice of the bishop and the papal legate, unfortunately opposed the university, and indeed committed herself to the infliction of unmerited castigation on certain students. The provost of Paris, proceeding to punish the students, under her direction, attacked them while at their games outside the city, and slew several who had taken no part in the previous riot. The university authorities were violently excited: they demanded satisfaction, and, this having been refused, a large number of masters and their pupils left Paris in disgust, and settled at various younger university seats which had begun to arise in France, such as Orleans and Toulouse, and even reopened independent schools at Angers, Poitiers, and Rheims. The English portion of the university went to Oxford and Cambridge, and Henry III. took advantage of the opportunity to invite the foreign masters also to with-

draw to England and take refuge under his protection. It is said that not a single master of any eminence remained in Paris. Notwithstanding the efforts of kings and bishops, including the thunder of excommunication, Paris never quite recovered from this secession. But other towns gained by it, and Meiners (I think rightly) is of opinion that it was the migration to Oxford at this time which first converted Oxford into an "university," in the full sense of the term as understood in France and Italy. Those who, yielding to royal and papal pressure, ultimately returned to Paris, did so only on receiving the most solemn promises that satisfaction would be given. And as the Bishop and Chancellor of Paris had been among the chief offenders, the pope (Gregory IX.) restricted in all time coming the powers previously exercised by them over the university, but astutely made it, at the same time, more dependent on himself. We learn from this secession (and from those of Bologna, Oxford, Cambridge, and Prague) that the early universities regarded themselves as autonomous organizations; that they consisted, in their own opinion, merely of a community or universitas of teachers and scholars, electing their own governors, regulating their own studies, and promoting their own candidates for degrees, without the necessary intervention even of a chancellor.

The Nations.—I have already had to refer to the "nations" in general terms. Natural and obvious

causes led to the formation of these, at Paris as at Bologna; but, like every other part of the university organization, it was not till the beginning of the thirteenth century that they took their well-known historical form. All the students belonged to one or other of four nations—the Picard, the Norman, the French (which embraced Italians, Spaniards, Greeks, and Orientals), and the English (which embraced the English, Irish, Germans, Poles, and all others from the north of Europe). The “English” nation was subsequently called the German, probably because the secession from Paris and the growing fame of Oxford and Cambridge had lessened the proportion of students from England. The subdivisions of the nations were determined by the localities from which the students and masters came. Each subdivision elected its own dean, and kept its own matriculation-book and money-chest. The whole “nation” was represented, it is true, by the elected procurator; but the deans of the subdivisions were regarded as important officials, and were frequently, if not always, assessors of the procurators. The procurators, four in number, were elected, not by the students as in Bologna and Padua, but by the students and masters. Each nation with its procurator and deans, was an independent body, passing its own statutes and rules, and exercising supervision over the lodging-houses of the students. They had each a seal as distinguished from the university seal, and each pro-

curator stood to his "nation" in the same relation as the Rector did to the whole universitas. The Rector, again, was elected by the procurators, who sat as his assessors, and together they constituted the governing body; but this for purposes of discipline, protection and defence of privileges chiefly, the consortium magistrorum regulating the *schools*. But so independent were the nations that the question whether each had power to make statutes that overrode those of the universitas, was still a question so late as the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The complete organization of the nations, I have said, did not exist till the beginning of the thirteenth century. There were nations in the form of spontaneous aggregations of students for mutual help and protection as early as the middle of the twelfth century, but there is no evidence that they had the formal constitution which I have briefly sketched till 1200-1220.* The Rector was originally head of the nations only as such, and as they existed for purposes of discipline and protection, he had consequently at first no authority in the general government of the university. His power was greatly increased when he became, not only Rector of the nations, but also of the Arts faculty, which he did before 1274. It is first in 1341 that he appears as head of the whole

* According to Denifle, p. 106. I have deleted in my proof what I had said on the subject of "nations" in deference to the irresistible argument of this author. See preface to these lectures.

university, and that the form "Nos rector *et* universitas magistrorum et scholarium," is used. Long before that, the Chancellor, who was the original official head of the universitas, had been restricted to the conferring of degrees.

That Paris should have been regarded throughout the Middle Ages as the mother of universities arose mainly from its cultivation of philosophy. For philosophy was then understood in a wide sense, including the rational interpretation of the phenomena of both mind and matter. A philosophical course thus afforded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the widest possible culture. It was free from all professional and technical aims, except in so far as it ministered to theology, out of which it indeed arose, and for which the whole arts course was a preparation. When the separation of the specifically theological teaching took place, all the remaining studies continued to be classed, as formerly, under the common name of "arts." That the faculty was called the Faculty of "Arts" and not of "Philosophy," arose out of the historical continuity of the university with the old school of arts under William of Champeaux. In Germany the Faculty of Arts is to this day called the Faculty of Philosophy, and includes the pure sciences.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century an university was regarded as incomplete which did

not provide for instruction and graduation in all four faculties at least, and hold from the pope or some royal or imperial authority the power of doing so; though, as a matter of fact, Bologna did not possess a faculty of theology till 1360, nor Padua till 1363. But in their beginnings the universities were wholly specialist schools, generally absorbing, however, into their teaching-organization the work of the local cathedral or municipal schools of arts.

Montpellier was the first great rival of Salernum as a medical school, though law also was from the first taught there. It became an university by charter in 1229. Toulouse dates as an university (or formally privileged school) from 1228. Orleans was late in obtaining formal recognition, not indeed till 1305, although it had been to all intents and purposes an university of civil law for a hundred and fifty years before this.

There were also schools of law at Cahors, Angers, and Bourges.

When we cast a retrospect over the past history and argument, we see, in the midst of some complexity of detail, certain things which stand out conspicuously and fix our attention. While recognizing the germ of the universities in the already existing arts schools, we yet see that the new institutions, in so far as they had the making of universities in them, early assumed a distinctive or specialized character. We further see

that they were commonwealths of learning, which simply assumed certain rights and privileges afterwards confirmed. The humblest student was a member of this commonwealth. Multitudes of regents may be almost said to have touted for pupils: these they carried forward to their first degree, and thereafter lectured to them as candidates for the mastership. The students led a free and uncontrolled life, seeking and finding protection in their own university authorities even from the civil power. There was an *imperium in imperio*. Every student had to be enrolled with some magister, but, subject to this, there was great freedom. The community was a *respublica literaria* in the fullest sense, and chose its own governors and regulated its own police as well as its own education. Any attempt to interfere with the complete autonomy of the university was stoutly resisted.

["It would be," says Savigny,* "altogether erroneous were we to look on the earliest universities of the Middle Ages as educational institutions in our modern sense—as foundations in which a monarch or a town might have in view the provision of instruction for a native population, the admission of strangers being, however, recognized. It was not so. A teacher inspired by a love of teaching gathered round him a circle of scholars eager to learn. Other teachers followed, the circle of listeners increased, and thus by a kind of inner necessity an enduring school

* "Geschichte des Römischen Rechts," xx. 58.

was founded. How great must have been the reputation and influence of such a school at a time when they were but few in number throughout Europe, and when oral instruction was nearly the only path to comprehensive knowledge! How great the pride of the professors, how great the enthusiasm of the scholars, who perhaps had traversed Europe to spend long years in Paris and Bologna!"

Again, "the distinguishing traits of the student-life," says Le Clerc, speaking of Paris,* "the memories of which survived with singular tenacity, were poverty, ardent application, and turbulence. The students in the faculty of arts—the artists—whose numbers in the fourteenth century, partly owing to the reputation of the Parisian *trivium* and *quadrivium*, and partly in consequence of the declining ardour of the theologians, were constantly on the increase, were by no means the most ill disciplined. Older students, those especially in the theological faculty, with their fifteen or sixteen years' course of study, achieved in this respect a far greater notoriety. At the age of thirty or forty the student at the university was still a scholar. This, indeed, is one of the facts which best explain the influence then exercised by a body of students and their masters over the affairs of religion and of the state. However serious the inconvenience and the risk of thus converting half a great city into a school, we have abundant evidence how great was

* "État des Lettres au xiv^e. Siècle," i. 269, quoted by Mullinger.

the attraction exercised by this vast seminary, where the human intellect exhausted itself in efforts which perhaps yielded small fruit, though they promised much. To seekers for knowledge the whole of the *Montagne Latine* was a second fatherland. The narrow streets, the lofty houses, with their low archways, their damp and gloomy courts, and halls strewn with straw, were never to be forgotten; and when, after many years, old fellow-students met again at Rome, or at Jerusalem, or on the fields of battle where France and England stood arrayed for conflict, they said to themselves, *Nos fuimus simul in Garlandia*; or they remembered how they had once shouted in the ears of the watch the defiant menace, *Allez au clos Bruneau,* vous trouverez à qui parler!*"]

NOTE.—The constitution of the University of Paris, given by Crevier as existing in his own time (1761), had been for so long substantially the same as he gives it, that it may well be inserted here as a help to a knowledge of the constitution of universities generally.

SCHEME OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

The University of Paris is composed of seven companies, viz. :

The Faculty of Theology, with the oldest of its secular doctors for its chief, under the name of dean.

The Faculty of Law, which had been established for canon law only, but which is authorized by the Ordinance of 1679 to teach civil law also. It has its dean, who is chosen annually from its professors, following the order of seniority.

The Faculty of Medicine, which has an elected dean whose office lasts two years.

* The head-quarters of the schools of arts and canon law.

The Nation of France.

The Nation of Picardy.

The Nation of Normandy.

The Nation of Germany, formerly of England.

These four Nations have each their chief, who is called procurator, and is changed yearly.

All these together form the Faculty of Arts ; but they no less constitute four distinct communities, each of which has its vote in the general affairs of the university.

The rector chosen by the Nations or their representatives, and drawn from the body of the Faculty of Arts, is chief of the whole university and chief of the Faculty of Arts especially.

Three principal officers who are perpetual, viz. :

The Syndic—the Secretary and Registrar—the Treasurer :—all three officers of the university, and all three drawn from the Faculty of Arts.

LECTURE X.

THE CONSTITUTION OF UNIVERSITIES.

THE TERMS "STUDIUM GENERALE" AND "UNIVERSITAS"—
UNIVERSITY CONSTITUTIONS, ETC.

I HAVE endeavoured in past lectures to show, by reference to the three primary institutions—Salernum, Bologna, and Paris—how universities gradually came into existence as the expression of the reviving intellect of Europe, and for the satisfaction of new intellectual and social needs. Incidentally I have had to sketch the fundamental constitution of these first universities; and in doing so, I have had, by implication at least, to interpret the nature of the constitutions by reference to their historical origins. From what has been said, it seems to follow that the notes of an university or studium generale are three: (1) That, whatever else it may include, it is a specialized school for *men* open to all; (2) that there is free teaching and free learning; (3) that it is a free autonomous organization of teachers and scholars.

We shall best extend our view of mediæval uni-

versities by an historical explanation of certain words :—

Studium Generale or Publicum.—In a document addressed to Lewis the Pious, two or three years after the death of the great Charles, the bishops suggest the erection of *scholæ publicæ*. At that time monastery schools, interior and exterior, existed, and episcopal or cathedral schools were to be found at most of the episcopal seats. We are not to conclude that the bishops were aiming at the institution of something different from either, and that they had in view specially lay schools such as the palatine. All they aimed at was an increase in the number of those schools, which would give to all who chose to attend them, and not to ecclesiastics only, instruction in the liberal arts. Dr. Specht is of opinion that a “*schola publica*” meant a school which was not confined to the training of monks or of the clergy, but which afforded a wider curriculum in the arts (trivium and quadrivium) than was considered necessary for the ordinary preparation of the ecclesiastic. The liberal arts were sometimes spoken of as *studia publica* (Specht, p. 37). A *schola publica* might thus be any episcopal or monastery school, provided it was practically a gymnasium, and as such had retained, or rather revived, the traditions of those provincial high schools, which had been instituted by the Roman emperors in the first and second centuries, and fostered by their successors. There seems to be no doubt that at a

schola publica, a liberal course was given, but there can be as little doubt that the original signification of the word was simply "open to all." Accordingly, the word "*publicum*" was soon used with a twofold meaning. A "*schola publica*" was an arts school, and therefore a public school; a public school, and therefore an arts school.

It would appear that the new term "*studium*" arose only in the period immediately preceding the birth of universities, the addition *publicum* being understood. What we have for centuries called "universities" were first called sometimes "*scholæ*," sometimes "*universitates*" with the addition of the words "*magistorum et scholarium*." The name "*studium generale*" does not seem to have been used till the thirteenth century, and it meant simply a place where one or more of the liberal arts might be prosecuted, and which was open to all who chose to go there and study, free from the canonical or monastic obligations and control; but the term "*generale*" did not convey that the liberal arts *generally* were taught. The name "*studium generale*," however, ere long succeeded to the double meaning which had belonged to "*studium publicum*," and meant both a school for liberal studies and a school open to all. When, therefore, Mr. Anstey ("*Monumenta Academica*," Introd.), following others, translates *generale* as "a place of general resort for students," he takes a partial view of the meaning of the term as popularly understood by those who used it.

At Rome and Alexandria and Constantinople, to teach "publicly" was to teach in places of common resort and open to all, such as the *exedræ* of a palace or temple, as opposed to teaching in one's own house. This appears from the Valentinian edict regarding the school of Constantinople referred to in the first lecture.

Universitas.—The term "universitas" had no connection with "universale," and did not, any more than the word "generale," carry with it any reference to the universality of the curriculum of study. This is now beyond all question. It was again and again formally applied by popes and kings to institutions which made no pretension to teach the circle of knowledge. Mr. Anstey scarcely exaggerates when he says that "vestra universitas" in a papal rescript may often be translated simply "all of you." In running over the works of John of Salisbury, I find a letter (cclxi.), written in 1168 to the *Conventus* of the *Ecclesia Cantuariensis*, which begins thus: "Universitati sanctorum qui in prima Britanniarum sede . . . Domino famulantur," etc. In fact, the term "universitas" was in the earlier part of the Middle Ages applied to towns or *communia* regarded as organized bodies; hence its application by John of Salisbury to a *conventus*. As applied to a *studium*, it simply meant a community, the word being in the course of time restricted to a learned community—a *universitas literaria*. We learned in a

previous lecture that in Bologna the general *universitas* of students divided itself into two sections—the *universitas ultramontanorum* and the *universitas citramontanorum*.

When the popes issued letters of privilege to an university, they addressed it (as did Frederick in the case of the University of Naples, founded by him) as a *universitas* (or community) *doctorum et scholarium*. Now, the mere epistolary recognition of these communities, by pope or monarch, as possessing certain privileges and internal rights of self-government, was practically their incorporation, and the term “universitas” thus gradually acquired the signification of “incorporated community,” at about the same time that it began to be restricted to learned institutions. The use of the term “universitas” by the pope was in no way influenced by the number of “faculties” or subjects in a Schola or Studium. The designation which corresponded to *universitas* as understood in more modern times was, in the thirteenth century, as I have stated, *studium generale*, and a *studium generale* might contain one or more universitates, e.g. *universitas artistarum*, *universitas juristarum*, etc. The earliest of the universities which did not grow, but was from the first *founded*, after older universities had fully developed their own constitutions, was that of Prague in 1347, and by that time the words “studium generale,” which originally meant only a general and specialized school open to all, and

where public courses of lectures were delivered, had come to hold the secondary meaning of a school which comprehended all the recognized "faculties."

The word "university" (*universitas magistrorum et scholarium*), it is interesting to note, was the word *first* used in official documents to designate the rising schools as *differentiated* from the *studium* or *schola* of the eleventh century, and, after passing through various connotations, it is now again always used.

Constitutions.—In the eleventh century the towns in Italy and France were reviving or initiating their municipal constitutions, and seeking and obtaining charters which gave the right of free popular government, and independence of feudal and episcopal interference. Nor was this all: for within the municipalities themselves, the various trades were forming themselves, under the free impulse of a desire for self-government and self-defence, into guilds. Each trade elected its own administrators from among the masters in the trade. Whether they had formally obtained corporate rights or not, they assumed these, and had them afterwards recognized by the municipal or civil power. They acquired and administered property. Moreover, through their "jurors" or "syndics" they not only enforced the rules of the trade on their own members, but they exercised civil, and in some cases even aimed at exercising criminal, jurisdiction. This

last they tried to exercise in defiance of municipal authority, but they were soon compelled to restrict their jurisdiction to matters bearing on the rules of their crafts. The jurors acted as arbitrators between master and man, saw that the quality of workmanship was kept up, received taxes from members of the guild, examined apprentices, and initiated "masters." These jurors (sometimes called syndics, elders, guards, or wardens) were elected by the votes of the members of the craft. The spirit of democratic freedom was particularly strong in the Italian municipal republics, and, in Bologna especially, the guilds exhibited a feverish activity in the eleventh century. In the thirteenth century we find them confederated there under one powerful head. It was usual to call the head of a guild "rector," and when there grew up a federation, the general head was called "rector societatum."

Let us now turn from the guilds and look at a *studium generale* in the twelfth century. Distinguished teachers have drawn round them from every part of Europe thousands of ardent pupils. These are supposed to be all working to obtain some learned or professional qualification, and they move among each other in a spirit of great freedom, and animated by a common purpose. Buildings and laboratories do not exist. The master or doctor-regents teach where and when they can—generally in their own houses or hired rooms, or sometimes

(as in Paris) in the lodging-houses called "hostels," belonging to the English or Picard, or some other nationality. The students lead an almost uncontrolled life, which too often tends to become a licentious and lawless one. In Paris and Oxford a large number are mere boys; in Bologna and Padua, as students of law, they are of more mature years.

Some sort of organization is manifestly needed, especially as the numbers increase. The practice of the free trade-guilds is present to the mind, and indeed to the eyes, of all. The students coming from the same quarter naturally stand together, and by the help of the masters of the same nationality constitute societies or nations, and at once proceed to elect their own chief. In Bologna, where the nations numbered thirty-six in all, each nation elects a *consiliarius*, and as the interests of foreigners might sometimes clash with those of Italians, the nations coming from beyond the Alps combine into one large universitas of Ultramontanes, while the Italians combine into a universitas of Citramontanes. Each universitas, with the help of its own consilarii, then elects its rector, and he and they quietly assume such powers of government and claim such rights as they see exercised by the guilds around them. In Paris they aggregate themselves into four nations, but, owing to the great youth of the students, it is the "masters" who control the organization. It is they

who elect the procurators,* who again elect the rector, and together they constitute the governing body for all purposes of discipline and protection until the rise of separate faculties leads to the introduction of the decani or deans. Emanating from these authorities, statutes are from time to time passed for the regulation of the students, houses, funds, etc. They assume corporate rights, as did the guilds, and these in the course of time become recognized by pope, king, or emperor.

Meanwhile the masters also form a consortium gradually breaking up into "faculties," and in Bologna strengthening themselves as collegia.† They regulate the studies and degrees.

The literary universitates are lay in their character, like the guilds. They keep monks out of the rectorship, and are as jealous of the local episcopal interference as they are of civic control or of royal intrusion. As difficulties arise, they desire to protect themselves, as did constantly the monastic communities, from local tyranny, and they seek protection from the pope as the universal father. Hence rescripts from Rome, acknowledging existing rights and privileges, and conferring new ones. The early universities were thus learned guilds which, soon after

* Denifle seems to say that the students had a vote. Surely not those under the degree of baccalaureus?

† It is scarcely necessary to say that a collegium may exist without a building.

their rise, begin to look to the pope (nothing loath) to shield them from both the ecclesiastical and civil power. Given the conditions which I have explained, this early organization was all quite simple and natural and obvious. The Rectors (not at first, but ultimately) exercised, along with their procurators in Paris and their consiliarii in Bologna, great and almost arbitrary power. They were assigned a high social position, and in some cases on great occasions took precedence even of archbishops and cardinals.

Cardinal Newman, in his "Historical Studies," points out that even so early as the time of the pre-Christian schools of Athens there was a classification of the students into nations. Students would in those days range themselves under some sophist who came from their own part of the world, and call themselves by his name. Again, Viriville ("Hist. de l'In. Pub.") says that at the Romano-Hellenic schools in Gaul, in the third and fourth centuries, there was a classification into nations, each of which had its *procurator*. Although these Roman provincial schools may have borrowed the practice from Athens, there is no evidence that the mediæval universities were consciously reviving an ancient practice. Like causes, operating in similar circumstances, produce like effects. Even at this day a movement very much akin to that which led to the formation of nations in mediæval times may be noticed in the University of Edinburgh, to which, more than to any other British university,

the colonies send students. Australia and Canada have their separate associations, and the students, as a body, have a representative council to attend to their interests.*

f The Chancellor resident at the university seat formally granted the degrees (or granted permission to grant them, for this is really what it meant in the case of the archdeacon at Bologna), and thus had a titular position. He, however, exercised very restricted powers at Paris from the first, except over the theological, and ultimately scarcely any; in Bologna he was little more than a ceremonial and titular official; but in Oxford and Cambridge he was a part of the governing body. An universitas was autonomous; but the chancellor had always a certain position which entitles us to say that he at least reigned, if he did not govern, and in England he governed as well as reigned. Some have wished to deduce from the position occupied by this ecclesiastical dignitary that the universities were originated by the Church, while others have as eagerly sought to minimize his position and authority in order to maintain the thesis that the universities were a distinctively lay or secular development. This discussion arises out of a want of historical imagination. We may say that the Church originated chivalry as truly as that it originated universities. It saw the two social movements growing up around it out of the needs and

* They also by statute elect the Rector.

aspirations of the time, and it had no cause to be jealous of them; for all were of the Church, all belonged to the community of the faithful. According to the early mediæval constitution, we must remember, long before the days of Charlemagne, the bishop held high office alongside the lay governor of a town—the *defensor*. The latter was an elected head whose functions varied from time to time, but who generally seemed to combine in himself many of the functions of an English mayor and a French prefect. The bishop was, as early as the sixth century (at least), an imperial officer for certain temporal affairs, and discharged many functions in conjunction with the *defensor*. When Charlemagne feudalized the Church at the beginning of the tenth century, these secular episcopal powers were increased rather than diminished. Indeed, counties were, after this date, frequently known by the name of their dioceses, not dioceses by those of their counties. It was quite natural, therefore, that in seeking for a high official who should perform final ceremonial acts, the universities should seek the bishop, or, in his place, the chancellor of the diocese. Who else was there to ask? Moreover, he already exercised educational supervision over the cathedral schools of arts, which were little more than secondary schools, but yet were the highest then known.* In England, and

* To his precise relation to the *licencia docendi* I shall advert in the sequel.

especially at Cambridge, we see brought distinctly into view the ecclesiastical nature and origin of the chancellor's functions. These, speaking generally, were a mere continuation of power over the scholastic institutions which preceded universities; and if the earlier universities sought at any time protection from local ecclesiastical oppression, they went straight to the pope for it, thereby acknowledging their subordination to the highest *Church* tribunal. So far, then, universities were Church institutions.

And yet, the universities were essentially autonomous lay communities. It would be an anachronism, however, to speak of them as being a lay force antagonistic to the ecclesiastical. There was unquestionably a growth of what may be called lay feeling in connection with the rise of universities, and this, indeed, was already visible in the order of chivalry; but of actual antagonism to the ecclesiastical power there could be none. It is not to be supposed, of course, that the popes gave their protection without also interfering. But their interposition seems to have been very rarely arbitrary. While Rome was not the mother, she was yet the nurse of universities, and a kindly genial nurse. Honorius III. is said to have interdicted the study of medicine at Paris, but it was only for monks and the regular clergy that he forbade this study, as well as that of civil law; but in the department of medicine the bull became a dead letter.

Had there been any antagonism between the aims of universities and the papal policy, there can be no doubt of the immediate result: the infant institutions would have been at once and easily crushed out. Freedom from monastic restrictions for the new commonwealths of learning was never questioned; and these commonwealths themselves wished for nothing so much as for the enrolment of their members among the clerici, so that thereby they might obtain ecclesiastical protection. Why should there be any objection on the part of the pope to the encouraging of new communities of clerici, who were neither monks nor secular priests, but who none the less were pursuing studies beneficial to their fellow-men, and who were, therefore, promoters of the aims of the Church itself—communities which, to use the words of Pope Honorius III., were “spreading everywhere the salutary waters of its doctrine, and irrigating and making fruitful the soil of the Church universal”? At any moment the Church could take action: its power was supreme and virtually arbitrary: why should it invent restrictive laws? Laws, moreover, are primarily for protection, though they may be used for oppression. Where law enters a constitution enters, and, with it, freedom. It can never be the true interest of a pure despot to make laws, for thereby arbitrary power is limited, and the decay of despotism has begun. It was not, indeed, till the Lutheran reformation that conflict between

universities and the papal power as hostile forces really arose, although long before that, and indeed always, the popes kept a watchful eye on possible heresies, especially in Paris, and frequently intervened in individual cases. Yet, in the main, mediæval universities were regarded as defenders of the faith; and, in return, the universities generally looked with confidence to Rome. But while recognizing the papal authority in the last resort, they were, yet, self-governed republics. To this day Cambridge calls itself in its calendar a "literary republic."

The Rector actually ruled the university along with the consilarii in Bologna and the procurators in Paris, although, in the latter city, the Chancellor of the primary theological school at Notre Dame continued to exercise certain powers, not very clearly defined, over the theological school,* and was at first and for long the head of the university. It was only by degrees that the Rector attained to the first place, having first to pass through the stage of being the official head of the Arts faculty as well as of the nations.

* In Paris, after 1266, the rector might be elected either by the procurators or by four men chosen for this special duty; and regulations made in 1281 evidently contemplated the possibility of the electors not being the acting procurators. In these regulations it is ordered that the electors shall be shut up in a room and not allowed to communicate with the external world until a wax candle of a prescribed length is burned to the socket. If they have not decided by that time, other electors are to be chosen. If two of these agree, the outgoing rector is to be called in to give his vote with them, and so make a majority.

Thus the Church allowed to grow up—nay, fostered—specialized schools of learning with republican constitutions, each of which, as it embraced a new faculty, became more and more powerful, until at last, combined, they led the thought of Europe, revived in men an interest in speculation, led to the asking of endless questions, and initiated that scientific spirit which finally rendered the Church in its mediæval form for ever impossible as a Church universal. Out of this movement, set in motion by Constantinus and Anselm, by Berengar, Roscelin, Abelard, and Irnerius, we may fairly say grew the Oxford Reformers of the end of the twelfth century; thereafter, Roger Bacon, Petrarch, Dante, Wickliffe, Huss, and, finally, the whole modern spirit. As heresies arose, the Church naturally tried to tighten its grip of universities, just as the civil power did in the face of political heresies. But with occasional lamentable defections, the history of universities is the history of freedom. The moment monasteries became organized, they formed centres of resistance to the tyrannical exercise of feudal power, and thus contributed to the growth of civil freedom quite as much as municipalities; so, the moment the masters of learning became organized, they formed potent centres of resistance to ecclesiastical, as well as to civil, despotism. They not only upheld, in the main, and notwithstanding occasional cowardice, their own corporate rights of free organization and free thought, but they sent out thousands

annually to every part of Europe to fill the various professions, animated with some share of the academic spirit, and possessed of that virile independence of mind which it is one of the chief objects of universities to promote.

Whether or not it will be possible for universities ultimately to maintain their freedom under a democratic social system, is a grave question. The tendency of the democratic spirit is certainly to reduce great institutions, whether they be Churches or universities, to be tools of dominant though temporary opinion, or servants of a central bureau.* The importance, in the interests of liberty, of institutions endowed with rights and privileges is apt to be lost sight of on the occasion of every successive wave of fanaticism. Fanaticism is always unhistorical: it looks neither to the past nor the future. It has no perspective. The present fills its eye and shuts off all else. The experience of France is not encouraging, where, under democratic influences, the ancient university has become a mere administrative body under the direct control of the state, and where the professors and faculties have no independent powers, no uniting bond, no common life, and where the idea of an autonomous commonwealth, or republic of letters, has utterly disappeared.

* Even in our own days we have seen a radical member of Parliament propose to starve out the head of a university because he did not agree with him on some passing, but exciting, question of educational politics!

To sum up: like the guilds of the Middle Ages, the university communities were republics, the nations being the primary source of power as regards discipline and privilege, and the masters as regards studies. They freely elected their own rulers and judges, and, as we shall shortly see, examined and promoted their own apprentices. They regulated their own studies and their whole inner policy. [At Paris, however, the "masters" were the true source of power. At Bologna and Padua the case was very different, but it was to the too democratic constitution of Bologna, combined with the municipal narrow-mindedness which gave a preference to natives in granting the doctorship, that Bologna owed its fall. Even the Paris constitution, in which a governing body of rector, procurators, and ultimately, also, deans of faculty, were elected by the members of the university, may seem democratic enough. But lest any one should think of drawing an argument from the Paris constitution in favour of larger powers being given to the graduates of our modern universities than they now have, I would point out that the masters who elected the university governors were all engaged in the business of teaching or administration. The Parisian *magistri non-regentes* had, however, a voice in important deliberations; at least this is to be inferred from the assembly called in 1259 to consider the pope's order to admit members of certain monastic orders and the scholars they examined and promoted,

to the privileges of university teachers. But it was only when specially called that the *magistri non-regentes* took part in the assemblies, and a rule to this effect was made in 1315, at Paris. In the Universities of Prague and Vienna—the earliest universities, except Palentia and Naples, formally founded (*ab initio*)—the source of government was more and more restricted to the faculties and the masters actually engaged in university work.

As it was in Paris so it was in Cambridge, and indeed all universities, with some modifications. Dean Peacock (as quoted by Mullinger) says, "The enactments of these statutes would lead us to conclude that in the earliest ages of the university the regents alone, *as forming the acting body of academical teachers and readers*, were authorized to form rules for the regulation of the terms of admission to the regency, as well as for the general conduct of the system of education pursued, and for the election of the various officers who were necessary for the administration of their affairs. We consequently find that if a regent ceased to read, he immediately became an alien to the governing body, and could only be admitted to resume the functions and exercise the privileges of the regency after a solemn act of resumption, according to prescribed forms, and under the joint sanction of the chancellor of the university and of the house of regents. The foundation, however, of colleges and halls towards the close of the thirteenth and beginning

of the fourteenth century, as well as the establishment of numerous monasteries within the limits of the university, with a view to participation in its franchises and advantages, increased very greatly the number of permanent residents in the university, who had either ceased to participate in the labours of the regency, or who were otherwise occupied with the discharge of the peculiar duties imposed upon them by the statutes of their own societies. The operation of these causes produced a body of non-regents, continually increasing in number and importance, who claimed and exercised a considerable influence in the conduct of those affairs of the university which were not immediately connected with the proper function of the regency; and we consequently find that at the period when our earliest existing statutes were framed, the non-regents were recognized as forming an integrant body in the constitution of the university, as the *house of non-regents*, exercising a concurrent jurisdiction with the *house of regents* in all questions relating to the property, revenues, public rights, privileges, and common good of the university. Under certain circumstances, also, they participated with the regents in the elections; they were admitted likewise to the congregations of the regents, though not allowed to vote; and in some cases the two houses were formed into one assembly, which deliberated in common upon affairs which were of great public moment."

Even to the most republican academic mind of mediæval times, the suggestion which we see made in these days in Scotland, that university governors should be chosen by graduates scattered all over the world, who are engaged in pursuits which make it impossible for them to maintain acquaintance with the circumstances and needs of their alma mater, would have seemed, as it unquestionably is, supremely ridiculous. Such a system could have only one result, the handing over of the graduate vote to a few non-regents resident at the university seats. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that the professors or acting-masters are now so few in number, and have so strong an interest in perpetuating what is for their own advantage, with which it is always easy for human nature to identify the general academic welfare, that it is not for the public interest that they should exercise more than a restricted power in the government. In searching for a governing body, accordingly, we cannot well do better than base it on university citizenship generally, provided we secure for the teaching body (*magistri actu regentes*) sufficient, though not necessarily predominant, power, and above all *include representatives of the Crown*. For I would point out that universities do not exist for the localities in which they are situated, but for the nation and the empire.

My conviction is that if the power of the professorial faculties, sitting as a senate or consortium

magistrorum, were not felt, as it is now in Scotland, in every part of the body academic, especially in the organization of studies and in examinations, the universities would soon degenerate into mere examining boards, and the professors be degraded into tutors. There would thus be revived the old regenting, the abolition of which was the beginning of the philosophic and scientific life of our northern universities more than 150 years ago.

The Scottish universities are now, it is interesting to note, *the only true continuators* of the mediæval organization, for they recognize the following elements as constituting the "university": (1) the students, (2) the graduates (or *magistri non-regentes*), (3) the professors (or *magistri regentes*), (4) the rector, and (5) the chancellor. The supreme governing body is the Court, but the body which practically governs—the Court having only carefully defined and restricted powers—is the *Senatus Academicus*; in other words, the principal and the professors of the four faculties. The Court, again, draws its members from the students, who elect a rector to be head of the Court, he further appointing an assessor; from the *Senatus*, whose principal sits in the Court, *ex officio*, and is accompanied by a representative of the *Senatus*; from the general body of graduates, called the "Council," who elect an assessor; and from the Chancellor, who elects an assessor, but does not himself sit.*

* In Edinburgh, owing to the traditionary connection of the

Any reform of the supreme governing and appellate court that would give it increased powers, must, of course, be preceded by increasing its numbers and influence. This can best be done by increasing the representatives of the various constituent elements of the university *already recognized*, adding Crown nominees in the general interests of the state. To admit representatives of "public bodies" is the beginning of the end as regards the free and republican character of universities. Alien government would destroy entirely the *Universitas* and convert it into a college. Better that our old universities should become a department of State at once than accept such degradation. But let the "people" bear in mind that a "department of State" is only another name for a political instrument. The autonomy of universities is of more importance to the future liberties of our country than the autonomy of municipalities.

university with the municipality, the provost of the city and a representative of the town council are also members. The Scottish university constitution will be seen to be a remarkable survival of mediæval organization.

LECTURE XI.

STUDENTS, THEIR NUMBERS AND DISCIPLINE—
PRIVILEGES OF UNIVERSITIES—FACULTIES.

WHEN one hears of the large number of students who attended the earliest universities—10,000, and even 20,000 at Bologna, an equal, and at one time, a greater, number at Paris, and 30,000 at Oxford—one cannot help thinking that the numbers have been exaggerated. There is certainly evidence that the Oxford attendance was never so great as has been alleged (see Anstey's "Mon. Acad."); but when we consider that attendants, servitors, college cooks, etc., were regarded as members of the university community, and that the universities provided for a time the sole recognized training-grounds for those wishing to enter the ecclesiastical, or legal, or teaching professions, I see no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the tradition as to attendance,—especially when we remember that at Paris and Oxford a large number were mere boys of from twelve to fifteen years of age.

The chief objection to accepting the tradition lies in the difficulty of seeing how in those days so large

a number of the youth of Europe could afford the expense of residence away from their homes. This difficulty, however, is partly removed when we know that many of the students were well to do, that a considerable number were matured men, already monks and canons, and that the endowments of cathedral schools also were frequently used to enable promising scholars to attend foreign universities.* Monasteries also regularly sent boys of thirteen and fourteen to the university seats. A papal instruction of 1335 required every Benedictine and Augustinian community to send boys to the universities in the proportion of one in twenty of their residents. Then, State authorities ordered free passages for all who were wending their way to and from the seats of learning. In the houses of country priests—not to speak of the monastery hospitia—travelling scholars were always accommodated gratuitously, and even local subscriptions were frequently made to help them on their way. Poor travelling scholars were, in fact, a mediæval institution, and it was considered no disgrace for a student to beg and receive alms for his support. One result of this was, as might have been expected, the production of a large number of tramps who called themselves students, and who wandered about over Europe and lived on the charitable. They were little better than sturdy beggars and idle vaga-

* I am disposed to think that guild funds were also sometimes so applied.

bonds, and as such gave no small trouble to the monasteries and towns and villages at which they halted.*

I cannot find that in the first two centuries of universities, before the foundation of colleges, students were under very strict discipline. They were under surveillance, however; they had to attach themselves to some magister, and breaches of university rules were sharply punished by the rector. Then the larger "nations" were composed of numerous smaller sections, which had their own officials, matriculation-books and money-chests, and the hostels or boarding-houses of these nations had a "master" as superintendent. There were certainly many scandals and much licence—especially, of course, among those who frequented Paris and Bologna and Oxford without a serious purpose of study. It is this class now which alone gives trouble to university authorities, and causes, I presume, the maintenance at Oxford and Cambridge of rules and restrictions originally framed for little boys or licentious youths. It was for disciplinary, as well as for literary and charitable objects, that colleges within the universities subsequently arose.

It is interesting and instructive, in this connection, to recall the discipline of Rome (and doubtless also of Constantinople) under imperial rule. The edict

* Events repeat themselves. Valentinian had to issue an edict directed against pseudo-philosophers who frequented the larger provincial towns in the end of the fourth century—the wandering sophists. Our modern tramp, too, is always a respectable artisan, "in search of work."

of Valentinian, issued in 370, makes more explicit a system which had existed in more or less force for 250 years. This edict (Theod. Cod., xiv. tit. ix.), brief as it is, may be said to constitute the complete corpus of university statutes of imperial times. It first requires that the young student shall bring with him from a provincial judge or the rector of a province a certificate of character and of his age and country, which shall be presented to the Magister Censûs. This is equivalent to our modern matriculation. He must distinctly state what studies he means to pursue, and enter himself for these. The censor is required to keep a record of lodgings, and to see that they are fit places for young lads to live in: he is also to keep an eye on their conduct and their associates, and see that they do not too much frequent public places of amusement, or convivial entertainments. If a student misconducts himself, he is to be flogged and put on board a ship and sent to his parents. None are allowed to continue their studies beyond their twentieth year, at which age they have to return to their homes.* Monthly inquiries are to be made at the residences of the students, and an annual report sent to the emperor, that he may know the qualifications of each, and judge "*utrum quandoque nobis sint necessarii.*" This annual report must have been a powerful inducement to study, as the commendation of a

* As the study of law extended over five years, the students must have come up very young.

student would lead to his employment in the public service.*

Privileges.—I suppose China and Athens, prior to the Roman period, are the only countries which, recognizing the importance of education, yet made no provision for it by way of either endowment or privilege. The former relied, and continues to rely, on State examinations, which, if passed, bring State employment and social position to an extent not dreamt of by the student of the empire or of mediæval times; the latter relied on the public spirit of the citizens and the supervision of the court of the Areopagus. In the former case the result is what we see; in the latter, the “adventure” system succeeded because of the restricted field, the genius of the Hellenic race, and peculiarly favourable conditions.

Like many of the characteristics of the earliest universities, the privileges conferred had their parallel in ancient laws or customs. Among privileges I may include fixed salaries paid by the State. Vespasian is held to have been the first who ordered to be paid out of the public treasury † salaries to professors at

* Justinian also held out this inducement. His words were (Prooem. Instit.), “Summa igitur ope et alacri studio has leges nostras accipite; et vosmetipsos sic eruditos ostendite ut spes vos pulcherrima foveat, toto legitimo opere perfecto, posse etiam nostram rempublicam in partibus ejus vobis credendis gubernari.”

† The payment made to Quintilian prior to this was rather, I think, of the nature of a pension, out of what we should call the “privy purse.” See, however, the reference to Gräfenhahn in Lecture I.

Rome, and in the more important provincial towns. Successive emperors confirmed and extended this law, doubtless originally suggested by the constitution of the Ptolemaic schools of Alexandria. Gratian, so late as A.D. 376, also issued an edict regarding the salaries of professors (*annonæ, stipendia, salaria*).

If not at the time of Vespasian, certainly not long after, immunities were also granted. The Medici and the professors of liberal arts, who taught in the Roman Capitol and large provincial towns, were exempted from imperial taxes, from service in war, and from discharging municipal duties except when they were desirous to do so. These privileges were, of course, extended to the University of Constantinople. Constantine, in his edict of A.D. 321, continues and confirms past privileges as they had existed in all parts of the empire (*vide* Theod. Cod., iii. tit. iii. 1). He also protects professors from all insult and injury by the threat of severe fines to be imposed on offenders. These privileges and immunities extended to the persons and property of the wives and children. In the West, senatorial rank was frequently, if not indeed always, conferred on the professors of the Capitol. The object of conferring such privileges is well summed up in the Theodosian Code, iii. 3 (A.D. 333), in the following words: "*Quo facilius liberalibus studiis et memoratis artibus multos instituant.*"

When Christianity was recognized by Constantine, he extended these academic privileges to the new

nation of the Clerus. "The whole body of the Catholic clergy," says Gibbon, c. xx. (and I may add this included servitors in churches), "more numerous perhaps than the legions, was exempted from all service private or public, all municipal offices, and all personal taxes and contributions which pressed on their fellow-citizens with intolerable weight, and the duties of their holy profession were accepted as a full discharge of their obligations to the republic." Thus the immunities of the learned class passed, but in a more extended form, to the clerical.

These privileges of the Clerus continued throughout the Middle Ages, and still to some extent survive. When the new universities, *i.e.*, communities of teachers and scholars, arose, most of the former already belonged to the clergy, and it was natural, on this and on other grounds, that they should assume clerical privileges for the whole body of scholars, with the expectation that the assumption would pass unquestioned or be confirmed by pope or prince at some future time. To what extent the clergy as individuals were free from taxes in the twelfth century I do not know; but the chief privilege, which covered many minor ones, was the right of internal jurisdiction, which had gradually been acquired under the canon law, though not originally contemplated by the Roman emperors either of the East or West. We are in these days naturally surprised that such things should be possible as the exercise of civil and criminal jurisdic-

tion over the students by university authorities. But when we realize that the guilds frequently exercised a similar authority over their members, and could interpose their protection against the interference of either municipal or feudal authority, we should rather be surprised if the new guild of scholars and teachers had not laid claim to those privileges of internal government which they saw existing both in guilds and in monastic orders, and in the Church generally. "In the Middle Ages," says Freeman,* "every class of men, every district, every city, tried to isolate itself within a jurisprudence of its own."

The word "clericus" was accordingly applied, not merely to the ministers of the Church and those in preparation for the ministry, but to all educated persons. Cleric or clerk was opposed, not to the laity, but to the illiterate laity. A simple deacon or monk was, as such, not a priest.† For the instruction of the laity during the Middle Ages, as we have seen, little was done, or, indeed, could be done. "Benefit of clergy" meant the right to be judged by an ecclesiastical tribunal. Accordingly, when students obtained the privilege of being judged by the university authorities alone, this was merely a natural extension of a practice already existing within the ecclesiastical order. Frederic of Barbarossa granted,

* "Historical Essays," 1st series, p. 108.

† Thomas à Becket was not a priest *till* he was appointed to the primacy.

in 1158, to all students, wherever they were, the right to be judged *coram domino aut magistro suo vel ipsius civitatis episcopo*, and this privilege was further extended even to the postal messengers of students. Thus, curiously enough, privileges originally conferred on scholars had passed to the Church, and having been aggrandized in its hands, returned again to scholars.*

Faculties.—The word “faculty” has been sometimes regarded with a feeling amounting to superstition, and this even by university reformers. It primarily means “the power of doing something.” To this day, in the Church of England, a vicar or rector has to obtain a “faculty” from his ecclesiastical superiors to effect certain changes. The word, in this ecclesiastical application, is equivalent to dispensation. The word “faculty” was originally used (in mediæval times) as equivalent to knowledge, also as equivalent to study with a view to special knowledge, and further it was applied to any subject of study. In Frederick II.’s Neapolitan statutes, those who mean to be merely surgeons, and not *medici*, are ordered to attend for one year the masters *qui chirurgiæ facultatem instruunt*, which I translate as “who instruct in the knowledge of chirurgy.”

* As in the earlier part of the Middle Ages the Roman provincials, and the population of Teutonic origin, frequently lived in the same town, each under its own laws (Savigny), the separate jurisdiction of universities would not appear to contemporaries so inconsistent with social order as it does to us.

In later times the word was used to denote a specific body within the university. Sir W. Hamilton defines ("Discussions," p. 490) a "faculty" as a body of teachers who had the privilege of lecturing on a department of knowledge and of examining in it. In this definition Hamilton follows Bulaeus. Du Cange more correctly defines it as those teaching and studying the same group of subjects. And it is so we now popularly regard it.

Until some time after the bull of Gregory IX., in 1231, what are now known as distinct "faculties" were all Arts studies. The bull of that year speaks of the various studies, including medicine; but when it uses the word "faculty" it uses it as equivalent merely to department of knowledge. Medicine and law were both originally classed under the general head of "liberal arts." The masters of the several departments of study, however, had been in the habit of meeting for business connected with their department long before they were recognized formally as faculties (just as now happens in Edinburgh, in the department of science, which is not yet technically a faculty); and in the "*littera universitatis*" of 1254, to which I have previously referred, the four "faculties" are named; but not in the sense of separate corporations. It was the formal constitution of a theological "faculty" in Paris apart from the arts faculty, in 1259-60, which first led to the separate incorporation of the other faculties in that university. When faculties

were at last formally constituted, they were, to all intents and purposes, universities within a university. Each elected its own dean, and these deans thereafter sat as part of the governing body, along with the rector and procurators. In 1277, we first, in an act of the University of Paris, find the words "with the consent of the four faculties." By that time each had its dean and seal. The medical faculty had a dean in 1265—always the senior doctor till 1338, after which the Dean was an elected officer.

The rise of faculties naturally broke up the republican organization as based on "nations" exclusively, but that organization never at any time controlled the "masters" in Paris to the extent which it did in Bologna. And, indeed, in both places the regulation of *studies and promotions* was in the hands of the *magistri*. Sometimes there were five faculties, or even six—canon law constituting a faculty, as distinct from civil law. The only faculties generally recognized in Paris were our traditionary four. There is no reason, however, why there should not be twenty faculties in a university. Wherever the studies in arts for a degree are broken up into specialized sections, there we have a "faculty," whether we call it by that name or not. In Oxford and Cambridge, Arts students can now graduate in half a dozen different ways. Each of these ways is really a "faculty;" nay, we may say that each subject is a faculty. There is no reason, in the nature of either things or words, why we should

not speak of the "faculty of English," or the "faculty of mathematics," or the "faculty of Latin." It may, perhaps, be better, however, in these days to keep the traditional "four faculties," and to institute as many "sub-faculties" as the circumstances of a university may demand. It is an historical blunder to separate the pure sciences from the general designation "arts."

The words of Bulaeus in defining faculty are, *Facultatis vero nomine quod ad regimen et administrationem attinet, intelligimus corpus et sodalitium plurimorum magistrorum certæ alicui disciplinæ addictum sine ulla distinctione nationis* (i. 251). But he afterwards (iii. 83) considers it essential to a faculty that it should have its own seal, its own private *comitia*, and a *caput* or *decanus*. Meiners further adds that the essential prerogative of a faculty was the right to examine entrants, and candidates for degrees in its own subject or group of subjects. But long before "faculties" existed in any formal sense, examinations were held and licences (or degrees) conferred in the various differentiated subjects of study. At first, the several masters of theology, or law, or arts exercised the right of examining and of presenting for promotion aspirants in their respective departments (this right, however, being on some occasions apparently shared with the chancellor), and the informal coming together of the masters of a subject to promote their candidates constituted the first germ of a faculty. The next step was for the masters to meet to discuss matters

affecting the studies in which they were specially interested; and finally, the body of masters professing a certain subject or group of subjects formally constituted themselves, elected a dean or head, and began to make statutes, to collect and hold fees, and to act in all respects as corporations or universitates within the larger corporation of the universitas.

Thus the rise of faculties was closely connected with the teaching and graduation system. Originally it would appear that the master who taught or regented the boy-students also conferred on them the B.A. degree. Afterwards, when faculties were organized, it was the privilege of each faculty to examine their own candidates and to confer the bachelorship. The faculty also examined and promoted its licentiates or masters, the Chancellor being little more than the channel through which their decision as to the fitness of a candidate was ceremonially confirmed and announced.

I have been speaking chiefly of Paris. In Bologna it is uncertain at what date the doctors of civil and canon law acted as separate bodies for purposes of promotion and other business. They existed as separate bodies in the thirteenth century, with the designation of "colleges," and were followed by philosophical, medical, and theological colleges. These colleges, corresponding to the Parisian faculties, consisted of the "masters" alone. The head was always called "prior" in Italy, not dean.

The above statement exhibits generally the rise and nature of faculties. The first separation of a "faculty" arose in Paris out of a quarrel. Regular examinations and promotions had been in operation in Paris for nearly a hundred years,* when the Franciscan and Dominican monks in 1243 demanded that the pupils taught by them in their cloister schools, and examined and promoted by them, should be admitted as members of the university, and to all its privileges. This would seem to have been an attempt on the part of what we should in these days call an extramural school to constitute itself a part of the university, and at the same time to transfer theological teaching to the hands of monks. The pope supported the claim, and, in spite of the strong reluctance of the university, it had ultimately to yield, merely securing for Arts precedence in all public acts and ceremonies. The monks then entered into a union with the secular teachers of theology, and, forming with them a separate body, elected a dean as their head. This movement to form a "faculty" was now strenuously encouraged by the university Arts masters, who were *virtually* already separated into faculties of medicine and arts or philosophy, as it more clearly distinguished them from the monkish element in the university, which they hated. But the immediate result was that the medical masters and

* According to Meiners (i. 80); but the consolidation of the rules for promotion occurred in 1215.

the masters of canon law formed similar associations, each electing its dean. The formation of the theological faculty took place in 1259-60, and that of the medical faculty must have followed very closely, because there existed a medical dean in 1265, and in 1270 they inflicted a punishment on one of their members for the breach of a statute. They, certainly, had a seal in 1274. In 1271, the law faculty had a seal. The period 1260-70, then, may be fixed as the date of the formal constitution, but not the rise, of the three faculties of theology, law, and medicine—afterwards called the three “higher” faculties, to distinguish them from “arts.”

It was not, however, till 1281 that the faculties were fully recognized in the sense that their *separate* acts were held to be university acts.

The above narrative suggests to us the question of precedence among the faculties. If this is to be determined by the date of their origin, arts has a strong claim, as it was out of arts that all the specialized schools called universities grew, and certainly at Paris it contained *within itself* the specialized schools as *artes liberales* before there was any formal differentiation. But, on the other hand, the evidence we have is in favour of Salernum as being the earliest school of a really advanced or university type,* and of Bologna as being at least

* Unless we date the Paris University from William of Champeaux.

contemporaneous with Paris—law with arts. Theology comes last at Bologna, that is to say, as a distinct school from arts; and this in 1260. Questions of precedence are, however, to be settled by the sovereign or supreme authority from which universities hold their title. If we accept the pope as supreme authority, we shall find that, in the earliest letters addressed to Paris, he names theology first and (canon) law next. On the ground of antiquity, and of its being one of the so-called “higher” faculties, medicine should come third, and arts last of all—the studies in arts as far as the baccalaureateship (and for theology the mastership) being for centuries regarded as preliminary to the studies of the other faculties. It might now, however, and with historical truth, be urged that the “arts,” or, to use the German term, the “philosophical,” faculty, may be held to embrace all studies that have not necessarily any direct professional bearing—such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, philology, literature, philosophy, biology, geology, history, political economy, etc., and that they thus occupy a higher position in the temple of knowledge than subjects directly practical or professional in their relations. A difficulty would again, however, here present itself. For not only are chemistry and botany and zoology regarded as part of professional medical training, but so, still more, are physiology and anatomy, which yet are pure sciences. Pathology, in its modern development, is also a pure science.

The institutes of law, again, is a purely scientific study, but forms part, or ought to form part, of the professional equipment of the practising barrister. To determine so complex a question on general principles would, I suspect, be impossible. Historically, we can only fall back on the terms of charters as issued by the sovereign, and on the whole question I would refer the reader to the "History of the University of Prague" (*vid. seq.*).

When the organization reached maturity, there existed in Paris the general body of the four nations, regarded as the Faculty of Arts, constituting, as such, the supreme governing authority of the university, and to which all students were held to belong till they attained the mastership or doctorship in one of the three "higher" faculties, when they seem to have ceased to belong to Arts.* From the general administration of the university, the higher faculties were, as such, at first excluded; but they resented this, and ere long, as I have shown, they received a governing position for their deans side by side with the rector and the procurators of nations, and carried on two or three centuries of discussion as to the right of the primary Faculty of Arts to four votes in public assemblies as representing the ancient four nations. (For the final organization, see note appended to lecture on Paris.)

The direct power of the nations in the government

* But this is doubtful.

of the universities was, as we see, seriously affected by the constitution of faculties ; but before this, the rise of colleges must have had a tendency to divide the interests of members of the same nation.

Before leaving the subject of faculties, it is worth while here to point out that, when the papal bulls authorized the institution of degrees "in quacunque licitâ facultate," this was not done to *restrict* the growth of faculties, but merely to exclude an "illicit" faculty or study, such as necromancy and witchcraft. Among the autonomous powers of a university are the constituting of faculties and the institution of additional regents or professors, except in so far as these powers may have been specifically restricted by an act of State.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, France and Italy and England had had considerable experience of universities. It was in this century, the fourteenth, the epoch of the first reformation and revival of letters, that sovereigns began to see the importance of founding universities in their own dominions, so as to give to them some of the dignity of learning, and to obviate the necessity, up till then imposed on their subjects, of travelling to distant countries in order to be trained for the various professions. The pope also was, for various reasons, glad of an opportunity to lower the troublesome pretensions of Paris. In this century, accordingly, fifteen universities

were founded. In the fifteenth century, twenty-nine. Many of these never rose above the position of minor colleges, and have since disappeared. If we wish to see the conclusions to which the academic mind of Europe had been led, after many fluctuations and intestine contests, as to the constitution and administration of universities, we cannot do better than look at the organization given to the first of the universities which was deliberately founded after things had settled down—that of Prague. Its organization will also, I think, throw a retrospective light on the previous history and constitution of the earlier seats of learning which had gradually grown up.*

* If we had the materials, something also might be learned from the original organization of the University of Salamanca in Spain, which was founded by Alfonso VIII. in 1212-14, in Palentia, and transferred before 1230 to its present seat by Alfonso's grandson. But it is probable that the University of Naples has already given us all that Salamanca would yield.¹

¹ Denifle seems to regard Palentia and Salamanca as quite separate and independent erections.

LECTURE XII.

GRADUATION.

THIS is a difficult and complex subject, but I shall endeavour to state, as clearly as the subject admits of, the conclusions to which I have come.

Graduation was, in the mediæval universities, simply the conferring of a qualification and right to teach (or, in the case of medicine, to practise), given after a certain length of attendance at an university, and an examination conducted by those already in the position of teachers.

The earliest reference to a formal qualification for the office of instructor known to me is contained in a Valentinian edict of 329. The immunities granted to oratores and other professors led to the assumption of the title by many who wished to share in the privileges of the professorial class, while wholly without claim to belong to it. These pseudo-philosophers, who wandered about from one provincial city to another and gave themselves great airs, were to be apprehended and sent back to their own countries "exceptis

his qui, a probatissimis adprobati, ab hac debuerunt conluvione secerni." It does not appear what steps were taken to give effect to this decree.

In the Theodosian Code the generic title of all higher teachers is "professor," but as equivalent to this we find the words "magister" and "doctor." In one edict (Theod. Cod., xiii. iii. 16) the expression "præceptor" is reserved for the professor of philosophy, the others being designated Grammatici, Oratores, Rhetores, Jurisperiti, etc.

In considering the subject of mediæval graduation, two antecedent customs furnish both a point of departure and an interpretation. These are, first, that certainly in the eleventh century, if not earlier, the chancellor of a cathedral, or, in his stead, the scholasticus, granted a *licencia* or *facultas docendi*. The one or the other was the titular head of the school.* The conditions we do not know. Secondly, the members of a guild corporation were divided into three distinct classes—*apprentices*, *assistants* or *companions*, and *masters*. These assistants were in France frequently called *garçons* or *compagnons de devoir*. As a general rule, the *garçons* were not admitted to the grade of "master" until they had performed some special task assigned to them, during the performance of

* Sometimes the archdeacon. At what date I do not know, but certainly before 1150, the chancellor or scholasticus was compelled to grant the licence to all competent persons. How the "competency" was determined does not appear.

which they were kept apart from their fellows. It was only if this *chef d'œuvre* was found satisfactory that they were installed as master—a ceremony which was generally followed by a banquet. The *garçon* who obtained his mastership obtained thereby for the first time freedom to exercise his trade or craft, and all the rights of a member of the guild.

Let us consider now what the specific function of universities was, and we shall be at once struck by the analogy of their inner constitution with that of the guilds.

In their beginnings the aim of the young communities, at Salernum, Bologna, and Paris, was simply to instruct those who wished to practise medicine, law, or theology. There were no specific titles. At Salernum the student went forth to the world simply as a *medicus*, as he did in the imperial times. When the organization became more settled a formal examination had to be passed.* The teachers were called sometimes *magistri*, sometimes *doctores*, these terms being quite generically used, and not yet being confined to teachers who had graduated. Frederick in 1224 statutes “*imprimis quod in civitate predicta (Naples) doctores et magistri erunt in qualibet facultate.*” Master and doctor are still in this statute used generically, and they were to be found, as a matter of

* I am not aware that any candidates who had fulfilled the requirements as to attendance and study and were recommended by their master were ever “plucked.”

course, in every faculty as it arose. Even the licentiate of the faculty of theology was long known simply as "master," not "doctor," in England as well as on the continent of Europe. Just as the mastership in a guild conferred freedom to practise, so the form which the certificate of completed study took in Salernum was a *licencia medendi*. But as these *medici* were then held to be "masters" in their art, they constantly carried with them into ordinary life the title of "magister," just as in these days a B.M. or C.M. is popularly called a "doctor." In Bologna the teachers were called "doctores." In Paris, again, and in England they were called "magistri." As the various faculties differentiated themselves, the term "magister" became ultimately confined to arts, and "doctor" was assigned to those who, having completed their art studies (usually at the age of twenty-one), had further qualified in the special studies of theology, law, or medicine. But to reach so advanced an organization as this required a century and a half. The various universities, being familiar with each other's practices, gradually borrowed the one from the other. The University of Paris, however, led the rest of Europe, and generally had its authority recognized without question, as the mother of universities.*

When a formal recognition crowned the student's course, the guild practice ruled at Paris, as we have

* Although in France itself Bologna had more influence than Paris.

said it did at Naples and Salernum ; for the ceremony was simply the granting of a *licencia docendi*,* in other words, conferring the freedom of a craft. It is true that in Paris the induction into the "mastership" was distinct from that of obtaining the licence, but the licence conveyed the *right* to the mastership. There was no fresh trial for the title of "magister ;" it was merely a formal admission by the other masters into their body—the ceremonial of investing with cap and gown, followed by some festivity. Here, again, the guild installations seem to have largely influenced university practice.†

Further, the trial for the licence or mastership, by public disputations against all comers in presence of the other masters of the university, was analogous to the *chef d'œuvre* that the aspirant to the mastership of a craft had to submit to the judgment of the jurors of his craft.

Our position is further illustrated by the minor title or degree which had arisen at Paris—*Baccalaureus Artium*. The "Arts" schools seem, in university towns, to have been gradually absorbed into the university organization, which, indeed, itself originally either grew out of them or in connection with them.

* I am not aware that the Salernitan words *licencia medendi* were used at Paris.

† Albertus Magnus was thirty-five years of age before he was "doctored" by the University of Paris in 1228, but this was a special case, and probably simply an honorary admission to the body of theological teachers.

Boys from all parts attended the *Magistri Artium* of the Parisian University merely for instruction in the old trivium—grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic; and after three or four years' study, they received the title of Baccalaureus. In Bologna and Salernum the preparatory or "trivial" instruction was so much subordinated to the specialized function of these seats of learning that, for a time at least, no occasion arose for marking the completion of it by a degree. In Paris, on the other hand, the university rose more directly out of the school of "arts," and continued to comprise in its recognized academic work the instruction of boys. Quite naturally, accordingly, there arose a necessity for marking the completion of the old trivial course. The word *baccalaureus* naturally presented itself. The original of the word seems to have been *baccalarius*, and this is said to be derived from the low Latin, *bacca* (for *vacca*), a cow. Accordingly, it originally meant a cowboy or herd, serving under a farmer. This history of the word curiously illustrates the analogy of the organization of universities with that of trade guilds. For in France, where the term was first applied, the youth who had finished his apprenticeship was called (as we have already stated) *garçon*, and might receive pay as an assistant to a master. So also the apprenticeship to the *trivium* being finished, the youth was formally presented to the faculty, and recognized as a *garçon* or *Baccalarius Artium*, *i.e.* as a

young man serving under masters with a view to the mastership. When he reached this stage, which he generally did about the age of seventeen or eighteen, he then began to study for the mastership, and was often (if not indeed always in Paris and Bologna) employed as an assistant to the master in preparing other bachelors or (as we may call them) arts' apprentices. The bachelorship had, it seems to me, a prospective rather than a retrospective significance; that is to say, it did not so much mark a course finished as "inception in arts" with a view to a mastership. The bachelor, in short, was only now entitled to say that he was a "youth in arts."

It was only later that the word, through a mistaken etymology, became *baccalaureus*, and was supposed to have connection with the laurel-berry, and graduation was called laureation. In chivalry the word "bachelor" was also used, but not in the same sense.*

The word "bachalarius" was adopted by Bologna only in the course of the thirteenth century. In 1297

* "An honorary distinction was made," says Hallam (cap. ix. part ii.), "between knights-bannerets and bachelors. The former were the richest and best accompanied. No man could be a banneret unless he possessed a certain estate, and could bring a certain number of lances into the field." But a knight-bachelor might hold higher military command under the Crown than a knight-banneret. It is unnecessary to point out that "bachelor" is used in our own early literature to denote a young man simply, without reference to his being married. It was generally used in the Middle Ages, *i.e.* *baccalarius* and *baccalaria*, to denote young persons above eighteen years of age serving under a master. The French feminine was *bachelette*.

we find it; but it was then applied to a stage of progress in the specialized studies of law, etc. If the student, after a certain length of attendance and payment of a certain sum, had conducted "Repetitions" * for one year, he was then called Bachalarius (Savigny). Each faculty as it became organized adopted the term "bachelor" to mark the half-way house to a full degree.

The words "doctor" (teacher) and "magister" (master)—equivalent terms—were first used generically. I have said, by those who taught and examined others, but when the universities began to organize a graduation system they were largely, I cannot but think, under the influence of the practice of mediæval guilds. They were guilds of learning. We must at once see, indeed, that in every nation where letters flourished the names "master" and "doctor" would, as a matter of course, be found; these words being used, as we have said, only in a generic sense. But when we speak of academic "degrees," we use the words in a specific sense and mean dignities and titles, formally conferred in accordance with certain regulations, which dignities carried with them certain rights to teach and practise a science or art. It would seem that titles of honour in this sense were conferred among the ancient Jews. But though it may be true that in the Jewish schools, before Christ, the titles of doctor

* See sequel for explanation of this and for the conditions of graduation, under "University Studies."

and master (Rabbi) were not simply assumed but *formally* conferred, it would be absurd to trace the introduction of these titles in the Middle Ages to a conscious imitation of a then hated and despised race. If these designations were in use in the Arab schools, it might be reasonable perhaps to find in the Arab custom a partial explanation of the European usage; but I am not aware that they were so used. In China, again, three titles are conferred after public examination, corresponding to bachelor, licentiate (or master), and doctor. But this simply means that the Chinese terms are best represented (not *translated*) by these European words. The literal translation is of a very "flowery" character.

The next question of interest in connection with degrees is that of the time of their institution. Up to the middle of the twelfth century, any one taught in the infant universitates who thought he had the requisite knowledge. It was made a matter of reproach against Abelard, who died 1142, that he had no formal authority to teach; and we know from the poem of Ægidius (quoted by Meiners, ii. p. 208), that young men, wholly unfit, ventured to teach medicine at Salerno. Even in the second half of the twelfth century, when the bishops and abbots, who acted, personally or through their deputies, as chancellors of the rising university schools, wished to assume to themselves *exclusively* the right of grant-

ing the licence (with a view to check abuses, I presume), Pope Alexander III. forbade them, on the ground that the teaching faculty was a gift of God. This itself is evidence, no doubt, that the custom of granting licences or degrees only after examination had begun; but it also shows that it had not established itself. We may fix the establishment of the custom at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century; but in theology it must have been much earlier.

In 1207, the increasing number of students of theology had led so many masters to assume the teaching of that subject, that Pope Innocent III. wrote to the Bishop of Paris, as Chancellor of the University, to restrict the number of theological teachers to *eight*. From this we may date the beginning of the degree in theology, in any formal or technical sense, that is to say, the "licence" to teach theology, but not, therefore, a "doctorship" in name. From this, too, we may conclude, as I have before said, that the pope never ceased to exercise, without hindrance, a certain control over the theological school much more direct than he ever pretended to have over the schools of arts, in which, shortly before, a "licence" had been instituted at the instance of the university itself.

The distinction between "masters" and "doctors" was not even yet, however, made, as we may see from a letter of Pope Innocent in 1210, where he refers to the

whole body of teachers of theology, arts, and canon law, as *doctores liberalium artium*. Even in Salernum the distinction between "licentiates" and "doctors" was not recognized. This college first granted a formal licence under the statute of Roger, in 1130, but it was a practical or professional *licencia medendi* merely. In 1231, degrees in medicine were conferred in Paris before the formal existence of a separate medical "faculty."

"Master" and "doctor" still continued to be interchangeable titles. The history of universities shows much fluctuation both as to periods of study for degrees and the designations given. In Germany, for example, the "mastership" never took hold; but, instead of it, as to this day, the "doctorship."

As soon as "faculties" established themselves, the degrees of bachelor and licentiate (master) were imported into them. Each faculty had a recognized graduation scheme in the latter decades of the thirteenth century; that is to say, there was a bachelorship of medicine and theology and law, as well as a licentiateship, or mastership, or doctorship in these subjects.

Source of Graduation.—According to Meiners (ii. p. 213), the attainment of a licentiateship by a bachelor originally depended entirely on the masters who taught him.* It was an university act, but not

* I am disposed to think, on the contrary, that the chancellor *always* conferred the *licencia*.

a corporate act. The next step was that the master, or masters, presented the candidate to the chancellor, who conferred the licence which carried with it, as I have already explained, the mastership. When faculties were finally formed, it was the faculty that presented the candidate.* Meiners notwithstanding, I am of opinion the "*licencia*" was never conferred in Paris except by the Chancellor. During the dispersion of the Paris masters, however, in 1229, they themselves, without the authority of chancellor or bishop, examined and promoted to licence or mastership.

The well-known Bull of Gregory IX. (1231) refers to *bachelors* as receiving their titles from the masters alone—the chancellor being called in only in the case of licentiates or masters. It also confirms what we have previously stated, that licentiates or masters were practically one and the same, of which indeed there can be no doubt. The assumption of the title of "master" by the licentiate was, I repeat, a merely ceremonial introduction into the magistral body, the new master being then invested with the biretta. There followed fees and festivity, and this was all as in the trade-guilds.

* At this day, in Scotland, each faculty presents its candidates to the Senatus, (*i.e.* the united faculties), by laying the names of those who have passed their trials before that body, and then, through its dean, presents them to the chancellor at a public ceremony. We learn, from a statute of the Paris Faculty of Arts (1279), that they admitted to "proofs" for the licence men trained at other seats of learning—an interesting and significant fact.

In Oxford and Cambridge the degree system was much the same as at Paris. At one time Oxford gave degrees for *single* subjects, such as grammar, rhetoric, poetics, and music; but the "masters" in these single arts took rank only with *Bachelors* of Arts in the full sense, and were consequently not full "masters" of the university. Cambridge at one time gave a degree in grammar alone: * The last degree in grammar was conferred in 1542. The old term of attendance for the bachelorship, namely, four years (now three), and seven years, in all, for the mastership, was long retained at Oxford and Cambridge. The latter degree, however, has not for centuries (?) been the mark of any attainment above the bachelorship. Degrees in theology, medicine, and law, granted after academic training and examination, fell into disuse, as did the whole professorial and specialized system. "Professional" studies also became virtually extinct, and are only now in these days being revived. ✕

If we turn to Bologna, we shall find that the title of "magister" and "dominus" was applied to Irnerius, but not doctor. The first teachers, however, early began to co-opt others who had shown their fitness to instruct, and these were known as "doctors" or teachers, not officially "masters," as in Paris, though this term was also often used. This co-optation seems to have been the earliest form of faculty-promotion.

* This was specially intended for schoolmasters.

In the course of the thirteenth century there are to be found *doctores medicinæ, philosophiæ*, etc. By that time examinations had been introduced. The jurists held that the title "doctor" should be specially reserved for their subject. While the degrees were as yet confined to law, Pope Honorius III. interfered with the granting of degrees in 1219, and in order to impose a check on abuses, directed that they should be conferred (not by, but) by permission of,* the archdeacon of the cathedral and under his presidency. The mere right to teach—the "*licencia*"—did not of itself confer the doctorship; but this latter title was given after the *licencia*, and involved a further and *public*, but evidently quite formal, examination in the presence of the archdeacon as Chancellor.

Though arts were taught in Bologna, there seemed to be no promotion in *arts* till long after the custom was established in Paris; and it would appear that the title of bachelor was never known in Italy as an *arts* title or degree.

With these remarks on what we conceive to have been the origin and growth of university degrees, we would now sum up as follows:—

The *gradus*, steps, or degrees in the ladder of knowledge, as soon as the organization was fairly complete, were nominally four, actually three—viz. bachelor, licentiate *or* master, and finally doctor, but

* I so interpret the Bull.

this last outside "arts." I am, of course, giving the general usage or rather generalizing the usage; for each university had its own peculiarities. At first, each man who had it in him, or thought he had, began to lecture and took his chance.* As a lecturer, he was called magister or doctor in the generic sense of these words—that is, simply a master or teacher. As the universities gradually hardened down into definite self-governing organizations, the chancellor, on the presentation of the "masters" or "doctors," as the case might be, formally granted a licence to competent students after examination. Just as the universities had in their origin practical and professional specialized aims, so the licence they at first granted was practical and professional—*licencia medendi* and *licencia docendi*.

In Paris, owing to the dominating influence of arts studies, the old title connected with arts survived—viz. magister, and the conferring of this followed on the licence as a mere ceremonial. In Salernum, the title was sometimes "master," sometimes "doctor;" in Bologna, and Italy generally, it was "doctor." When theology became separated from arts, as a separate study or faculty, the title doctor was also assigned to this new faculty as a "higher" faculty, it being already found to exist in Italy, if not also in France, for civil and canon law. Again, a preparatory course of in-

* I refer to Bologna and Salernum. In theology at Paris, the Chancellor of Notre Dame always conferred the title.

struction for boys having always existed in the monastery and cathedral schools, a title was invented to mark the completion of this course wherever the universities included the work of secondary or "trivial" schools. This title was *Baccalarius*.

Itter informs us, in his learned and clumsy work "*De Gradibus sive Honoribus Academicis*," that the licentiate ship was, subsequently in some universities, higher than the mastership, so that a complete university course was then represented by four degrees—bachelor, master, licentiate, and finally doctor, which last was usually taken at the age of thirty or thirty-five; but, in general, there were only three degrees, the mastership being included in the licentiate ship, and, in some cases, the mastership including the doctorship.

Each specialist university, as we saw in a previous lecture, early set itself to add on the specialist studies of other universities. Bologna added to the arts course and to civil law, colleges or faculties of theology and medicine. And when, in 1224, Frederick II. instituted the University of Naples, he included all "lawful" studies or faculties, though the term "faculty" was not then in use in its later and present technical sense.

The next development of the degree system was the introduction of the grades of bachelor and master or licentiate into each of the higher faculties— theology, law, and medicine. Thus a man who had finished his preliminary arts studies, generally at

the age of twenty-one, and wished to specialize in theology or medicine or law, had to pass through the stages of bachelor of theology, or of medicine, or of law, and then of master or licentiate, before he attained the title of doctor. The bachelorship of medicine or law was reached in three years, of theology in seven. Four years' further study brought the doctor's degree. Thus a man might be doctor of medicine or law at the age of twenty-seven, and of theology at thirty-one. A doctor in both civil and canon law was called J.U.D. (*Juris Utriusque Doctor*); afterwards LL.D. was substituted. D.C.L. may (I presume) mean either civil or canon law according to its historical relations.

This was the complete graduation system; but it did not obtain in every university in its completeness.

That the bachelorship was taken very young, we know from the history of many universities. In the seventeenth century a statute was passed at Oxford fixing fourteen as the youngest age for matriculation, and, centuries before this, twelve years of age had been fixed as the minimum at Paris. As early as 1380* the statutes of King's Hall, Cambridge, require that the matriculant shall be at least fourteen, and that he shall be sufficiently proficient in grammar to take up logic or any other "faculty which the warden might select for him" (Willis).

* I had written 1326, but altered to 1380 on the authority of the recent beautiful edition of Willis's "*Architectural Cambridge*" (1886).

The bachelor course was, in fact, a grammar school or trivium course. And in our own time, we see that the German universities have relegated it entirely to the gymnasiums or high schools, reserving the universities for specialized study. The gymnasium course is, however, a far wider and more prolonged course than the baccalaurean course of the mediæval universities. The question now awaiting solution in Scotland (and in England, too, for that matter) is whether the properly secondary-school instruction shall be relegated entirely to schools, as in Germany and France, or continue to hold a place in the Faculty of Arts. In England, elementary and advanced *school* work choked off specialized university teaching till recently. The solution will probably be a compromise. Boys of seventeen ought to come to the universities with a preliminary training sufficient to enable them to enter upon an academic treatment of *Arts* subjects. Certainly neither Church nor School can afford to drive out Arts studies, pursued as a branch of liberal education, from the universities. It would be (it seems to me) a retrograde movement. At the same time the *masters'* degree must be so specialized as to secure high attainments in those special departments of study which a man intends to make his life-profession. The Baccalaureate should be restored in Scotland.

On the subject of degrees an interesting discussion

arose in Paris in the thirteenth century—viz., whether the licence and mastership could be rightly conferred on those who did *not* mean to teach. It was settled in the affirmative, and hence arose the distinction between *Magistri regentes* (governing) or *legentes* (lecturing) and *Magistri non-regentes*. The *Magister-regens* was ultimately known by the name of regent simply, and carried his pupils through the whole curriculum for bachelor, and in many universities also for master, until the development of literature, philosophy, and science made it desirable to appoint special “masters” for each department, and these were then called professors. But long before this title was recognized in Scotland it existed elsewhere. In fact, it is used as applied to theology in Frederick’s statutes of 1224. With the rise of professors arose also departmental studies in arts, and scientific investigation ; indeed, until the departmental and specialized professoriate was instituted, the universities were little more than gymnasia for the training of aspirants to the professions ; but in Paris the aim was always higher than this, owing to the philosophic character of the “arts” studies. The British universities have for the last hundred and fifty years gradually been recognizing their double function as at once teaching schools and academic institutes for the advancement of learning. A professor who does not fulfil both functions is not a professor in the strict sense of the word at all, but merely a kind of

Magister regens or *legens*. In a sense, he is a fraud. He is a great obstacle also in the way of scientific progress; for, if he does not investigate himself, he will look coldly on young aspirants in the field of investigation.

In Oxford and Cambridge, till quite recently, the function to which these universities mainly restricted themselves, that of schools of arts, has been interpreted in the narrowest sense. By "arts" the mediaeval universities meant all departments of knowledge not specifically professional—that is to say, language, rhetoric, logic, psychology, metaphysics, politics, physics, natural history, geometry, music, astronomy, and so forth. This scheme of knowledge translated into modern language becomes the whole range of learning, science, and art, *in so far as pursued in a scientific spirit, and with a view to the advancement of knowledge merely.*

An university, properly understood, is the home of the arts and sciences. It exists to teach them, and it equally exists to promote them. In the English universities, the culture and discipline of the general student has been the almost exclusive aim. To speak of "culture" as the aim of college and university life is to throw a mere phrase at the head of the public. Culture can never be a conscious end to a man without unmanning him. Still more must it emasculate an university where it is achieved, after all, by not more than one in five hundred. And when

we do find it in its supremest and most precious form, we cannot say we like it. It is always narrow, and must, from the psychological nature of the case, be egotistical. That, indeed, is a poor result of the highest education—a man who thinks himself supreme or precious, and who spends his life in turning pretty phrases when not engaged in admiration of his own exclusive intellectual possessions. Such a man admires even his own college only in so far as it contains himself. Style and form are excellent things, but they never yet existed in perfection, except when there was an ardent soul, a fiery enthusiasm, a great human purpose, behind them. Mr. Edward Kirkpatrick, in his book on the universities, well says, "An institution which stakes its whole power and credit in society upon refinement and intelligence not evinced in any one particular form of efficiency will inevitably disappear more and more from connection with a world of flesh and blood into a kindred cloud-land of unrealities and abstractions." Indeed, may we not truly say that it is our relation to the concrete life of humanity that gives, not merely substance and stability, but also stimulus and inspiration to all thought of much value? It is this that breathes into abstract pursuits a living soul and animates the worker to renewed efforts.

The culture of the few, and the giving of the many a certain amount of discipline, by means of the ancient tongues, mathematics, and a little logic, to fit them for

the professions of clergyman and schoolmaster, is not the only return society expects from great universities. The large rewards of study, especially fellowships, should be directed to the encouragement of pursuits which do not "pay," and no longer reserved mainly for men who can find in clerical or scholastic situations the proper prizes for excellence in Latin, Greek, and mathematics. The money should be devoted to the equipment of the arts (including of course ancient literatures) and sciences, and the sustenance of those who pursue them from the pure love of knowledge and in the interests of mankind. "Professions" can take care of themselves.*

* I cannot but think that the present outlay on physical science at Oxford and Cambridge is to be justified *only* if it restricts itself within the purely scientific and avoids the strictly professional. The numerous modifications of the B.A. course with a view to admit of men taking up a line of *liberal* study which may prepare them for "professional" study are, in principle, to be commended; but the circumstances of the country do not call upon Oxford and Cambridge for a fresh supply of medical and legal practitioners. Their proper function is much higher.

LECTURE XIII.

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

I HAVE some difficulty in deciding whether I should now treat of "university studies" as the natural complement of the preceding lecture on graduation, or ask your attention to the early constitution of those other universities which laid the foundations of the European system. On the whole, I think it better to take the latter course.

In a former lecture I referred to the educational activity of England before the time of Charlemagne. Bede, one of the most illustrious of those who maintained the reputation of his country, died in A.D. 735, and we may say with William of Malmesbury that almost all knowledge of events was buried with Bede for four centuries.

Before the time of Alfred there were schools in connection with the Priory of St. Frideswyde in Oxford, and also with the conventual establishment at Ely from very early times. It was doubtless out of, or in close affiliation with, these two insti-

tutions that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge first arose.

The discrediting of certain passages (recognized to be interpolations) in Asser's "Vita Alfredi," and of the chronicle of Ingulphus, compels us to say that there is no evidence that Oxford was more than an arts school of the type of the Benedictine down to the beginning of the twelfth century. From the point of view from which I regard the rise of universities, I should say that Oxford only then first showed a disposition to pass from a secondary school to an university when Vacarius, about 1149, lectured there on civil law. Had this specialty been fostered at Oxford, it would have become an university of law with a strong "arts" basis; especially as at this very time there was great dialectical activity among the Oxonians. But King Stephen and the Church objected to civil law, and nothing came of Vacarius' venture.

Anstey, in the introduction to "Monumenta Academica," i. xxxiv., considers that there is no evidence that Oxford was an university before the Conquest. This *at least* is, I should say, quite certain. It would be pedantic, however, to say that no educational institution was an university till it had the constitution of an university as that was shaped by the "nations" at Bologna and Paris, or by an universitas magistrorum; but it is certainly correct to say that no school, however efficient, is an university until it does

the work of an university, that is to say, provides for the teaching of men as well as of boys, and this by specialist regents or professors. About twenty years before Vacarius lectured, Robert Pulleyne returned from Paris, and endeavoured to revive the teaching of theology, and succeeded in infusing a higher spirit into the Oxford school. Here was another opportunity afforded to Oxford of developing into an *universitas*.

Our past lectures on the birth of universities sufficiently show that it is exceedingly difficult to put our finger on the precise date at which a good "arts" school became an university, or *studium generale*. I should certainly not postpone the date of the evolution, from the lower to the higher, till the period of the formal adoption of more or less of the Paris constitution. A *studium generale* may exist in substance though not in external form; but I am not aware that this designation was ever authoritatively given to any school which had not a specialized as well as a "public" course of instruction. The first royal recognition was by Henry III., who summoned Parliament to meet at Oxford in 1258. But we must date the starting-point of the *universitas* long before this. University College was instituted in 1232. We know that the Benedictine Order was in a corrupt state in the time of Robert Grosseteste, who died in 1253; and that this eminent man had much to do with the denunciation of abuses, the encouragement of the

(then) new Dominicans and Franciscans, who gave so great an impulse to learning in Europe, and the advocacy of a higher learning generally. He was a patriot and a scholar and a humanist. His authority alone would carry the university back to A.D. 1200.

In speaking of Paris, I have already told you of the students' riot of 1228, which resulted in the maltreatment of many of the citizens, and how Queen Blanche, acting under bad advice, caused the students to be attacked while engaged with their sports outside the walls. Driven into the city and unarmed, many students, while seeking safety in places of concealment, were killed, and a still larger number seriously wounded. The university, resenting this treatment, broke up and migrated to Orleans, Angers, Rheims, and other towns, where teaching was conducted and degrees conferred independently of Church or King. Henry III. of England seized the opportunity to invite the dispersed scholars to the rising schools of Oxford and Cambridge. These students came, and brought with them the university idea of studies and privileges; and we are certainly safe in maintaining that, concurring as this date does with the foundation of University College and the activity of Robert Grosseteste, the date of the university could not possibly be put later than 1200; and this applies to both Oxford and Cambridge. For we may fairly conclude that the immigrants, after the migration from Paris in 1229, would

not have directed their steps to Oxford and Cambridge at all had they not known that it was possible there to continue studies above those which belonged to a good Arts cathedral school. The influence of the Paris migration must have been very great, for, as Mr. Mullinger says, "the University of Paris throughout the thirteenth century well-nigh monopolized the interest of the learned in Europe. Thither thought and speculation seemed irresistibly attracted. It was there the new orders fought the decisive battle for place and power; that new forms of scepticism rose in rapid succession, and heresies of varying moment riveted the watchful eye of Rome; that anarchy most often triumphed and flagrant vices most prevailed; and it was from this seething centre that those influences went forth which predominated in the cotemporary history of Oxford and Cambridge" (i. 132). The migrating masters would carry the genius of Paris with them.

But while it is highly probable that the date 1200 may be assigned to Cambridge, there can be no doubt that at Oxford there was an university, in fact if not in form, sixty years before this. Had there not been a well-known and active higher school there in the earlier decades of the twelfth century, Robert Pulleyne would not have come from Paris about 1130 to lecture there, nor would Vacarius have endeavoured to found a school of civil law in 1149, nor should we hear (on the authority of John of Salisbury) that dis-

cussions regarding universals (*in re* or *ante rem*) raged at Oxford in 1153. Again, to prove that Oxford was largely *frequented* in 1200, it is sufficient to say that in 1209 there was a secession from Oxford: "Recesserunt ab Oxonia tria millia clericorum tam magistri quam discipuli ita quod nec unus ex omni universitate remansit." * Of these some went to Reading, some to Cambridge. Then, Giraldus Cambrensis read his "Topographia Cambriæ" to the inhabitants of Oxford, and the second day's reading (he tells us) was addressed to the "doctores diversarum facultatum (studies) omnes et discipulos famæ majoris et noticiæ." This was in 1186. Accordingly, we may conclude that Oxford was entitled to the name "universitas" about 1140. That there was a decline is clear enough from the writings of Grosseteste and the complaints of Roger Bacon and Merton. And, further, that it was to the settlements of Franciscans and Dominicans (1220-1230) that the revival was chiefly due is also, I think, clear.

The date of papal bulls is always an important one in the history of universities; but, as I have again and again said, all the earliest universities (with the exception of Palentia and Naples) grew and were not founded, and it would consequently be incorrect to date the existence of an university from a papal or royal charter such as that of Henry III. to Oxford.

* Roger of Wendover's "Flowers of History," by Giles, ii. 249; quoted by Denifle, p. 242.

To sum up, I conclude that the true university life of Oxford began about 1140, of Cambridge about 1200, and that their university organization took its form about 1230, after the Paris migration.

Cambridge first received a papal bull in 1318 from Pope John XXII., but in 1231 it began to be recognized by royal letters.

So active was the life of Cambridge, that (owing to local riots) it could afford a migration to Northampton in 1261. Subsequently there was a migration from Oxford to Stamford.

As at the seats of learning abroad, so at Oxford and Cambridge there were no university buildings or schools. These did not begin to exist till the fourteenth century. The students were taught in the hostels, or in private rooms; and the churches were used for large assemblies. Somewhat later, houses were specially hired by masters for the purposes of instruction, and these were called "schools." There were thirty-two such schools in Oxford at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Besides these, there were the schools in the religious houses, and extra-academic grammar-schools for those not yet fit to enter on university work, it being impossible at that time to obtain in the greater part of England the necessary preparatory instruction in grammar.

While it is beyond all question that both the universities and colleges of Oxford and Cambridge

modelled themselves largely on Paris, there are yet peculiarities deserving of notice as throwing additional light on the earliest conception of an university. In Cambridge, for example, the functionary on whom we have to concentrate our attention is not a Rector, but a Chancellor, who, though elected by the two houses of regents and non-regents, derived only a part of his authority from the bodies that elected him. Dean Peacock emphasizes this peculiarity. The chancellor, he says, had powers independent of the regents, and his authority was necessary to give validity to their acts. He was not necessarily a regent himself, but constituted a "distinct estate in the academical commonwealth." "His powers, though confirmed and amplified by royal charters, were ecclesiastical both in their nature and origin. The court over which he presided was governed by the principles of the canon as well as of the civil law; and the power of excommunication and absolution, derived in the first instance from the Bishop of Ely [who claimed a visitatorial power resisted by the university] and subsequently from the pope, became the most prompt and formidable instrument for extending his authority. The form likewise of conferring degrees, and the kneeling posture of the person admitted, are indicative both of the act and the authority of an ecclesiastical superior." It is clear, accordingly, that the chancellor in England possessed many of the powers of the Parisian and

Bononian rectors. The internal regulation of the education and of the degree system rested practically, however, with the regents, the non-regents exercising a concurrent jurisdiction in matters of property and privileges only. There were only two procurators or proctors (called also rectors), and their authority was next to that of the chancellor and his vice. They were chosen annually by the regents ;* and among their other academic duties they regulated the markets and hostelries, and supervised the revenues.

The immediately preceding remarks refer specially to Cambridge, but they are substantially applicable to Oxford also. Indeed it would appear, from Mr. Anstey's "*Monumenta Academica*," that the power of the chancellor was even greater at the latter seat of learning than at Cambridge ; and in this respect the English universities, while adopting, after 1230, the general characteristics of the Parisian system, yet deviated from it in what seems to me an essential particular.

I am speaking of the early external constitution, not of the inner life, of the English universities. This latter question is a large and complex one, and bound up with the history of England ; but although I shall not venture to touch it myself, I cannot refrain from quoting here an interesting passage from Döllinger's "*Universitäten jetzt und sonst*" :—

"England, pursuing throughout its whole history

* Not by the students.

the twofold aim of practical activity and political freedom, and hostile to all centralization, has confined itself to two universities, two learned corporations which have preserved down to this day their republican constitution and autonomy.* A single university would have become too exclusive, too much of a monopoly, and ultimately would have gone to sleep on the pillow of its privileges and traditionary honours. But the two watched and stimulated each other, and each of them specially cherished one of the two main tendencies of the English mind,—Oxford the ecclesiastical, and the disciplines subserving this; Cambridge the mathematical and more practical aims."

HOSTELS, HALLS, AND COLLEGES.

One cannot refer to English universities without having one's attention fixed by the collegiate system which so soon dwarfed the university.

Like all the other parts of university organization, halls and colleges arose quite naturally to meet the wants of the hour. The multitude of students congregating at the university seats made it often very difficult for them to find lodgings, and their extreme youth exposed them to many temptations and evils. Accordingly, there arose at Paris, as we saw (and at Paris especially, because at Bologna and Salernum those recognized as university students were for some time much older than the undergraduates of Paris),

* To these have now been added Durham, Victoria, and London.

"hostels" (*hospitia*, a name taken from the monastery hotels), or "houses," set apart for the various nations, where lodging and some sort of protection and superintendence might be obtained at a moderate cost. Even at Bologna the poor students who were maintained at the cost of some charitable foundation, formed a kind of college and lived together under rule. The date of the first college there was 1263,* but long prior to this charitable funds were dispensed to students. Collegiate institutions, however, never flourished in Italy.

So early as the beginning of the thirteenth century (and doubtless before this) hostels existed at Paris; but the name "college" seems first to have been specially applied to the houses of religious orders, where were accommodated those youths who meant to devote themselves wholly to a "religious" life. So far at least as "secular" students were concerned, the "colleges" at Paris were charity houses, dependent largely, if not wholly, on the goodwill of the well-disposed. Even in the twelfth century there were colleges (such as the Danish), which seem, however, to have soon disappeared.† They were all in the first instance merely boarding-houses, not schools. One of the earliest, if not the

* Collegium Avenioniense (see Savigny, xxi. 72).

† Mr. Kirkpatrick (p. 252) quotes from Bulaeus, part iii. p. 392, in evidence that a college for one hundred poor clerks was founded in the *eleventh* century (?).

earliest, of the colleges which held its ground, was the "College des Bons Enfants," founded in 1209. The poverty and dependence of this institution is preserved in the old rhyme—

" Les bons enfans orrez crier ;
Du pain ! n'es veuil oublier."

But though the students of this first college do not seem to have belonged to any religious order, their aim was ecclesiastical work of some kind. Even the first purely secular college, and the most famous of them all in history, was founded for the study of theology—that, namely, instituted by Robert de Sorbonne, chaplain to Louis IX., who also contributed to its foundation. It was intended only for those who had already graduated in arts and meant to devote themselves to theology. It was thus a college composed solely of "Fellows," as we should say in England. It was founded in 1250.

The college of Navarre was founded in 1304, by Jeanne of Navarre, for the board and lodging of seventy poor scholars at all the stages of the university curriculum—twenty grammarians, *i.e.* boys preparing for their B.A.; thirty arts students, *i.e.* preparing for masterships; and twenty theological students. So with the college of Montagu. In the thirteenth century sixteen colleges were founded in Paris. In the course of time some seventy or eighty arose, many of which, however, ceased to exist after a brief and inglorious career. The Scots college was not founded

till 1326 by David, Bishop of Moray. About that date, the houses and colleges contained the great proportion of the members of the university, but there was no enforcement of residence. Eighteen were colleges of religious orders. At the date of the Revolution only ten survived. The old rule, that every student must be enrolled with some "master," always held good, and was necessary in the interests of discipline.

It is not to be supposed that the original hostels accommodated more than a small proportion of the students—at least until the fourteenth century. The others sought lodgings where they could get them; and the University of Paris, after 1215, had the right to inquire into, and approve of, the rents charged, so as to protect the students against extortion—a right confirmed by the Bull of 1231, and exercised, as I have previously said, by the municipality of Bologna, and also at Cambridge.*

I think it is sufficiently apparent from my previous lectures that the universities arose out of or in connection with the existing Schools of Arts, and were *at first* simply an expansion and evolution of the existing ecclesiastical organizations. This view is further incidentally confirmed by the fact that it was not only the regents resident in the colleges who were required to be celibate, but all masters of all faculties in Paris. This rule naturally arose out of the close affinities of the academic with the monastic

* Doubtless also at Oxford.

and canonical life. It was not till 1452 that in Paris the masters of even the medical faculty were allowed to marry. That *magistri-regentes* residing within college walls should be bound to celibacy is intelligible.

In England the hostels were regulated lodging-houses, where the students resided at their own cost, under the supervision of a principal admitted by the chancellor. The students would club together and hire a house or houses, and call it a hospitium. The members of a hospitium were either from the same part of the country, or pursuing the same studies. There existed in Cambridge, *Hospitia Artistarum* and *Hospitia Juristarum*. It was only by slow degrees that these disappeared, giving way as colleges multiplied during the latter half of the thirteenth and the whole of the fourteenth centuries. These hostels were sometimes called "inns," "entries," or "halls;" also *litterarum diversoria*. The principal (always either a bachelor or, more generally, a master) and his hall were substantially independent of the university authorities, but were, of course, subject to certain general regulations.

The monastic institutions at Paris, and of the Franciscans and Dominicans at the English universities, were practically colleges, as this word was afterwards understood, because there was in them a common life under rule. The term "college" was primarily applied to a corporation of individuals having a common purpose, and not to buildings. The latter went by

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the name of *Domus*, or *Aula Scholarium*. The term "college" was next used as equivalent to endowed hall; and while the residents at halls or hostels paid for their own lodging and maintenance, with such help as they could obtain from loans out of the university chests in return for the articles they pawned, or from the proceeds of begging, the occupants of colleges had free quarters; but they had to accept with this privilege the detailed regulations of the college statutes. Eighty seems to have been the largest number of halls ever existing in Oxford. Owing to the increase in the number of colleges, the halls numbered only twenty-six in 1511, and as colleges increased in number and wealth they bought up the hostels at both the university seats. "As stars lose their light," says Fuller, "when the sun riseth, so all these hostels decayed when endowed colleges began to appear in Cambridge."

"It is customary, with the ignorant," says Dean Hook, "to speak of our colleges as monastic institutions; but, as every one knows who is acquainted with the history of the country, the colleges, with very few exceptions, were introduced to supplant the monasteries. Early in the twelfth century the opinion began to prevail that the monasteries were no longer competent to supply the education which the improved state of society demanded. The primary object of the monastery was to train men for what was technically called the "religious life"—the life of

a monk. Those who did not become monks availed themselves of the advantages offered in the monastic schools; but still a monastic school was as much designed to make men monks as a training school at the present time is designed to make men school-masters, although some who are so trained betake themselves to other professions." * This was equally true of the monastic institutions at the universities; hence the need of "colleges" for seculars free from monastic obligations.

I would here recall to mind the distinction between the three kinds of mediæval schools—interior monastic schools for the oblati, the exterior schools, and the canonical cathedral schools—and I would point out that a college more closely resembled the residential part of a cathedral school, such as Canterbury, than a monastery. True, the colleges were intended for those who meant to be "clerics;" but this order, in those days, did not mean the regular and parochial clergy only, but comprised *all* the professions.

By far the most important of the early college foundations of England was that of Walter de Merton, chancellor of the kingdom in 1264 †—called "Domus Scholarium de Merton." ‡ This foundation furnished a model for all succeeding colleges both in Oxford and Cambridge. Merton himself must have had his

* Lives of the Archbishops, iii. 339.

† The second charter dates 1274.

‡ Preceded, however, some say, by an earlier foundation.

eye on the Sorbonne. Merton's House was substantially what we should now call a secular college. No "religious person," that is no monk or friar, was to be admitted. He had in view the supply of regular clergy, and we may say clerici generally, that is to say, the learned class. His aim was to produce a "constant succession of scholars devoted to the pursuits of literature," "bound to employ themselves in the study of arts or philosophy, theology or the canon law; the majority to continue in the arts and philosophy until passed on to the study of theology by the decision of the warden and fellows, and as the result of meritorious proficiency in the first-named subjects." It would be difficult even in these days to form a more liberal conception of a college. Mr. Mullinger says that science was not included in the curriculum; but there can be no doubt that arts and philosophy in those days covered the field of science. The "littera" (1254) of the Paris universitas, to which I have several times referred arts, comprised philosophia rationalis, moralis, and *naturalis*. It was only the scientific *professions* of medicine and law, it seems to me, that were left out, in so far as these were practical and commercial pursuits.* "Within the walls of Merton," says Mr. Mullinger (p. 169), "were trained the minds that chiefly influenced the thought of the fourteenth

* The Mendicants were students of both law and medicine. This fact may have affected Merton's views. The study of law always tended to lower the scientific and academic character of mediæval universities.

century. It was there that Duns Scotus, the 'Subtle Doctor,' was educated; it was there that he first taught. Thence, too, came William of Occam, the revolutionizer of the philosophy of his age; and Thomas Bradwardine, known throughout Christendom as the 'Doctor Profundus,' whose influence might vie even with that of the 'Doctor Invincible,' etc.

We have said enough for the general purposes of these lectures. In thus briefly describing Merton, we have described the aim and constitution, allowing for minor differences, of the whole collegiate system of Oxford and Cambridge: in so far as the aim was not charitable, it was for the furtherance of the higher learning. University Hall, Oxford (1280), was to provide for "four masters to live together, and study theology." It is interesting to note that originally there seems to have been no marked line of demarcation between the scholar and fellow of a college. The distinction first formally appears in the statutes of King's College, Cambridge. "It is not until after a three years' probation, during which time it has been ascertained whether the 'scholar' be ingenio, capacitate sensus, moribus, conditionibus et scientia, dignus, habilis, et idoneus FOR FURTHER STUDY, that the provost and fellows are empowered to elect him one of their number" (Mullinger, p. 309).*

* Before the Reformation, permission to wealthy students to reside in colleges, even on payment of rent, was reluctantly granted.

With these remarks and this quotation before him, I may leave the unprejudiced reader, who knows what the mediæval word "arts" truly means in its modern translation, to form his own judgment of the proper destination of the great wealth of the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges.

It is curious to note that in these latter days the non-collegiate or unattached system of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been revived. Undergraduates may now live in licensed lodging-houses, and we may yet see restored both in England and Scotland the hostels of the Middle Ages.*

* What else I have to say on the English universities will be found under "University Studies," *seq.* As bearing on the rise of the Cambridge schools, it may be mentioned (*vide* Willis's "Architectural History") that the Augustinian Priory of Barnewell was established in 1112, the Benedictine Nunnery of St. Rhadegund in 1133, and the Augustinian House, called St. John's Hospital, in 1135. In the earlier half of the twelfth century, too, there was considerable literary activity at not a few cathedral and monastery centres (not to speak of the Royal Court). All this tended to centralize itself at Oxford and Cambridge.

LECTURE XIV.

THE UNIVERSITY OF PRAGUE.

I THINK it of importance to give some attention to the history of the University of Prague, because (if we except Naples, already a subject of consideration in one of the preceding lectures, and Palentia, of which I have no knowledge) it was the first university *formally* founded. It was, moreover, quite the first founded after Europe had had experience of the university system. We may consequently expect to find in its constitution not only the conclusions to which the best minds had then come as regards the higher education, but we shall also find in its organization much that throws a retrospective light on questions in university history which have frequently given rise to discussion. The University of Prague was also the starting-point of the great German system; and, indeed, when we look at this system in its full modern development, we are justified in saying that its formative idea is to be discerned in this the earliest German foundation. I shall be as

succinct as possible, believing that those who have followed the previous survey of university history will be able to see for themselves the significance of the facts, and to supply their own comments and conclusions.

The University of Prague was founded in April 1348, by Charles IV., who ascended the Bohemian throne in 1346. He founded it, as from the first, a *studium generale* of all the faculties, and confirmed his foundation the following year, conferring on it all the rights, privileges, and immunities which had been conferred by his ancestors from time to time on other universities. The university was not founded in response to a national demand. Charles had himself been a student at Paris, and "now, in memory of his student-life in the *rue de Fouarre*, wished to have a copy of the university there, in his hereditary kingdom of Bohemia" (Döllinger, p. 7).

But before Charles issued his charter, he had been in communication with the pope, and in the year prior to the formal institution (1347) had obtained from him a Bull, founding an university in all the faculties, and giving catholic validity to its degrees. He appointed the Archbishop of Prague chancellor. It will be remembered that in Paris the chancellor grew up with the university, simply retaining under new and gradually restricted conditions the position he had held over the school of arts, out of which the university grew. We also saw that Pope Honorius III.

appointed the Archdeacon of Bologna to discharge the functions of chancellor there, and that in England the ecclesiastical relations of the universities were even closer than on the Continent of Europe. The formal appointment of a chancellor at Prague by the pope was, accordingly, a matter of course. Indeed, the whole history of mediæval universities shows that the pope was the constant referee when questions of difficulty arose, even prior to any formal letters of privilege or protection issuing from him. He took it for granted that he was supreme arbiter, and as his interference generally brought with it protection, if not always privilege, it was not resented. If Paris was the "mother," the pope was the "father," of universities. And now, in 1346, we find Charles at once recognizing the hopelessness of founding a university which would have any academic status without the direct support of the papal chair. After this date, and until the Reformation, we find that important universities had usually two charters—the one papal, the other royal or imperial.

Charles called professors of known eminence to Prague and gave endowments for their support. He appointed a professor of theology, but, in addition to this official, other teachers or professors belonging to the monastic orders lectured on the same subject in their cloisters, and had their teaching recognized for graduation. A professor of law was called from

Bologna, and a professor of medicine was appointed to represent the medical faculty, and as many professors of arts as there were liberal arts at that time recognized. These professors gave their lectures in their own dwellings, there being no public university buildings. To all the sovereign gave a fixed salary; the collegiate churches and cloisters being required to contribute, as (by a strange coincidence) in these days the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge contribute to professorial salaries. The university was divided into the usual four faculties. He left it to the university itself to construct its statutes according to the best models. This was a recognition of its autonomy.

The members of the university were divided into four nations. The highest official was the Rector, who was chosen half-yearly. Each of the nations chose an elector; the four so chosen co-opted seven others, and the united body then selected five by whom the rector was chosen. *The office of rector could not be filled by any one belonging to a religious order.* The most important duty of the rector was jurisdiction over all members of the university, not only in ordinary cases of discipline, but also in civil and in criminal processes. A court was held by him twice a week. His next most important duties were to see that the statutes of the university were observed, to take precedence in all functions of the university, and to administer its property. A vice-

rector was also appointed, and two collectors for the administration of the university purse. The primary assembly, whereby its statutes were made or altered, was the congregation (*congregatio universitatis*), in which masters and students had equal votes. By an edict of the archbishop, a special university council (*concilium universitatis*), consisting of eight members, two from each nation (*procuratores nationum*), was instituted, to be elected half-yearly. These nominated their successors, and were almost always "masters" of the university. Ere long the half-yearly meetings of the congregation became a mere form, for the council of the university exercised sole, as well as supreme, power in conjunction with the rector, so that before the end of the fourteenth century, Prague, which was originally a *universitas magistrorum et scholarium*, became, practically, a *universitas magistrorum* alone.

Each of the four faculties elected a dean. In point of dignity the Deans came next to the rector, just as the rector was of less dignity (though of more power) than the chancellor, who conferred degrees. In the discharge of their special official work both the rector and the deans were wholly independent. The deans were chosen once or twice a year, and with them were chosen two collectors for each faculty, to manage the receipts and disbursements specially belonging to it. There were also other faculty officers.

The university gave two degrees—the bachelorship,

and the degree of master *or* doctor. The only difference between the title of master and doctor in Prague was, that the title of master was used in the faculties of theology and arts, that of doctor in the faculties of law and medicine. In the faculty of law there were two degrees, the doctorate in canon law and that in civil law.

For these degrees an examination was held. Four examiners were appointed, one out of each nation, and these were presided over by the dean of the faculty in which the student sought promotion. Those who passed for the bachelor's degree were arranged in order of merit, and entered in this order in the faculty graduation book. The fee for the bachelorship was twenty Bohemian groschen, which was paid to the faculty, but was always remitted in the case of poor students. The young bachelor had to swear (1) that he would give lessons for two years in the university;* (2) that he would accept a like degree from no other university; (3) that he would do his utmost to promote the interests of his university. The examination consisted in "determining."† The candidate's promoter was generally the master whom he had most regularly attended (or in whose house he had lived), and the bachelorship was conferred, not by the university through the chancellor, but by the *Faculty*.

* Consider the bearing of this on the question of "inception in arts."

† See next lecture.

The mastership for which the bachelor now began to prepare himself, by teaching and by attending lectures, was conferred by the chancellor—the examiners being, again, four in number, one from each nation. The chancellor conferred the *licencia docendi*, and the bachelor was then called a licentiate. It was not necessary that the licentiate should take the mastership, which was only a ceremonial act of admission or “promotion” to the body of masters. Without the title he was free to teach, and he often postponed taking the mastership because of the expense, although, until he took it, he could not exercise his rights as the member of a faculty.

Most of the masters who taught kept houses in which students could lodge, and in these houses they also carried on their teaching. The custom of living in masters’ houses must have been found to be a necessary protection, for in 1385 a statute was passed prohibiting students from living anywhere except with a master or a bachelor, unless he had a special dispensation.

The colleges afterwards founded were colleges for *masters*.

Almost, if not quite, from the beginning, the Faculty of law in Prague constituted itself into a separate university, which had nothing in common with the other three faculties except the chancellor. And yet the statutes gave them a recognized place in the university as a whole. It was called the *juristen-*

universität, and had a collegiate house assigned to it by Charles in 1373.

The general body of students might attend whatever lectures they pleased, but they had to be present at not fewer than three a week. The object of this was to prevent people enrolling themselves as students for the sole purpose of escaping municipal jurisdiction, and living under the independent and privileged jurisdiction of the university. For those *studying for degrees* special subjects and classes were further prescribed.

As to instruction: the general method was by dictation, the students writing down and afterwards "getting up" the lectures of their masters. The scarcity and cost of manuscript books made this course, as I have frequently pointed out, inevitable. In lecturing from any author, a master was free to give his own opinions; a bachelor, whose business was *incipere in artibus*, was restricted to the letter of the works he read to the younger students, and had to submit his proposed readings with them to the dean of his faculty for approval. Just as the bachelors had to teach for two years, so masters who received regular stipends, or had a place in a college, were compelled to teach for at least two years. The magister or doctor regens was called professor. The masters arranged with their respective faculties their proposed courses, but a certain restricted competition was allowed—two masters (and never more than three) being

allowed to give similar courses. The students paid fees to the masters they attended, but the poor were constantly exempted.

The "disputations" which were carried on in the lecture halls had two objects—the clearing up of difficulties, and dialectic practice. Bachelors before being presented for their degree had to furnish evidence that they had taken part in these disputations at least six times. They were held on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The bachelors who were going forward to the mastership had to be *always* present at the disputations, and take part in them. In addition to the disputations ordered by the university, each master might (with permission) hold special disputations called "exercises" with his own pupils. Once a year in January a grand disputation was held, called *disputatio de quolibet*, in which all the regenting *masters* had to take part. The question or questions were submitted in writing to the president of the disputation four days before it took place, and the discussion used to extend over several days.

As to property: the university, through its rector and collectors, administered what was general—such as the funds destined for the salaries of the ordinary professors. Each faculty and each college, however, had also its separate money-chest. The university income came in the form of matriculation and graduation fees, fines, and taxes.* It was not usual

* I do not know from what sources the "taxes" were obtained.

for a student to enter the "higher" faculties until a minor course in arts had been completed. But it is not distinctly stated whether it was usual to go beyond the bachelorship before entering the "higher" faculties. But we know that at, and even before, the date of the Prague foundation, it was quite usual in Paris to go forward to the degrees in law and medicine without taking the mastership in arts; but not to the degrees in theology.

We may learn something as to this, I think, from the order of precedence in public ceremonies. First came the

Masters of Theology.

Doctors of Canon Law.

„ Civil Law.

Masters of Medicine and the Dean.

„ the Faculty of Arts.

Licentiates of Theology.

„ Canon Law.

„ Civil Law.

„ Medicine.

(Formed) Bachelors of Theology.

Masters of Arts.

(Running) Bachelors of Theology.

Licentiates of Arts.

Bachelors of Law.

„ Medicine.

„ Arts.

If we remember that the titles doctor, master, and

licentiate all denoted the same degree of attainment, and differed only in so far as the "doctor" or "master" had improved his university *status* by going through the ceremony of "promotion" after he had taken the *licencia*, we may conclude (1) that the order of precedence as regards faculties was theology, law, medicine, and arts; (2) that before entering the theological faculty students took the licence, if not also the mastership, in arts; (3) that the students of law and medicine took only the bachelorship in arts before entering their professional faculties: this is very interesting, as throwing light on the European custom of the time; (4) that deans of faculties did not sit with the procurators and rector as governing the university. In this respect Charles went back to the older constitution of Paris.

It is not my purpose to follow the history of the University of Prague, nor indeed of any university, except in so far as certain crises in their gradual development down to 1350 throw light on the origin, constitution, and practical working of universities generally. In this connection, the secession from Prague in 1409 is as interesting and instructive as that from Bologna to Padua in the beginning of the thirteenth century, or the disruption of Paris in 1229, or the secessions from Oxford and Cambridge. In consequence of representations made to him by the Bohemians who constituted only one nation, while the Germans were divided into three, the sovereign

ordered that the Germans should henceforth be formed into only one nation, and the Bohemians into three. This, it will be seen, at once transferred the whole power of the university to the Slavs. The German teachers and pupils at once left Prague, some going to strengthen the newly formed universities at Vienna, Erfurt, and Heidelberg; but the greater portion settling at Leipsic, and so laying the foundation of the university there. The statutes and constitution of Leipsic were modelled on those of Prague. The constitution of the first German university could easily be shown to survive in the modern universities of Germany in very many particulars. The chief difference is the direct intervention of the State in the conducting of examinations in the various faculties.

In the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there grew up in Europe ten universities; while in the fourteenth century we find eighteen added; and in the fifteenth century twenty-nine arise, including St. Andrews (1411), Glasgow (1454), Aberdeen (1477.) The great intellectual activity of the fourteenth century, which led to the rise of so many universities, coincides with the first revival of letters, or rather was one manifestation of the revival. We see this period illustrated by the name of Petrarch, who, with many other men, began to feel the barrenness of scholasticism and the significance

of classical literature—an intellectual awakening which in the religious sphere found its most prominent exponents in Wickliffe and Huss. The new current had to run underground during the French wars and the War of the Roses, but its influence was felt, in the teaching at least of the Continental universities, throughout the fifteenth century, till it culminated in the second revival—the period of the Humanists and the Lutheran Reformation. The great increase in the number of universities in the fifteenth century was not, however, solely due to the influence of new ideas, but also to the desire of the papal power to break down the domination of Paris, especially after the Council of Basel.

Were it not that it would occupy too much space, I might here comment on the constitution of the Prague University, with a view especially to throwing light on that of Paris. Meanwhile I omit this.

LECTURE XV.

UNIVERSITY STUDIES AND THE CONDITIONS OF
GRADUATION.

IN this, as in other university characteristics, there was an historical continuity. The work done in the mediæval universities by the candidates for the bachelorship was the same as that which I have already described as constituting the trivial curriculum of monastery and cathedral schools, but somewhat more extensive and better organized. There was a distinct educational advance. But it has to be observed that, as in an account of the curriculum of the pre-university schools of Europe it was necessary to be guided by the practice of the best seminaries, so, in the case of the universities, we have to bear in mind that while the trivium—"grammar (including ancient literature), rhetoric, and dialectic"—has an imposing sound, the actual work accomplished, and consequently the attainments of bachelors, whose average age over Europe generally could not be more than seventeen or eighteen, were not very high.

There was, I say, no sudden breach of continuity in the curriculum of instruction in so far as it contemplated a general education, and there was no better education in the humanities to be had in the universities than Bernard of Chartres was giving about the time the University of Paris began to exist. No doubt one or two teachers had preserved the tradition of Chartres till the end of the twelfth century ; but this is all that can be said, if we are to attach due value to the complaints of John of Salisbury, who may be regarded as the humanist of that period, and afterwards of Grossteste, Roger Bacon, and others.

It was in the higher development and specialization of medicine, civil law, and theology (with philosophy) that the university movement broke away from the mediæval and monkish system.

At the university seats, the more important parts of the grammars of Donatus and Priscian were, as at the monastery and cathedral schools, dictated, explained, and learned by heart ; and this after the boys had left the grammar school and become " arts " students. In the earlier part of the thirteenth century, Priscian's grammar was reduced to verse (leonine) by a regent of Paris, Alexander de Villedieu (de Villa dei), and this book became, up to the middle of the sixteenth century, the great text-book. Dialectic and rhetoric were taught from epitomes. Portions of Cicero, Virgil, etc., continued to be read ; but they were used, as in the cathedral and monastery

schools, simply as illustrations of grammar and rhetoric rules, not studied as literature.

It is clear to any one who has looked into contemporary writings that the tendency of universities was at first, and for long, away from literature and humanism. Grammar and rhetoric were formal, — a study of rules and inaccurate etymologies. Dialectic was logic in its most barren form. The true intellectual life of universities was to be found in the specialized studies of medicine, theology, including philosophy or the higher dialectic, and law. It is quite true, as I believe I have shown, that the grammatical and literary instruction of the pre-university schools was, except in the hands of a teacher here and there, restricted, arid, and uncultivating. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the rise of university teaching effected much change. On the contrary, the method of procedure was perpetuated; and this even above the "trivial" stage, when we should have expected the study of the "humanities" to enter. Humane studies were entirely overshadowed in Paris and the universities which followed that model, by philosophy, which was generally limited to dialectic disputations on definitions, the nature of ideas, and the relative questions of metaphysical theology. The neglect of literature led to barbarism in style. The report which John of Salisbury gives of Paris in 1136 is only one of numerous evidences of this. These studies, however, unfruitful as they might be in

their immediate results, cultivated acuteness of mind, loosened old conviction, and laid the foundations of modern rationalism.

In giving instruction, the order of the day was generally as follows:—

The regent usually met his pupils three times daily—at sunrise, at noon, and towards the evening—and at one of these meetings determining (defining) and disputation occupied the time. There can be no doubt that the want of books gave great opportunities to a regent of high teaching capacity to show what he could do. It also compelled in the pupil an amount of memory-work, and of reflection on the lessons dictated, which must have been highly effectual for the formal discipline of the mind. ✓

Robert de Courçon, the papal legate, fixed in the earlier part of the thirteenth century the books to be lectured on in the Paris faculty of arts for the master-ship—viz. Aristotle, in so far as he bore on dialectic and ethics; "Topics" (fourth book); Priscian (with the abridgment); and other works, by authors now unknown, on philosophy, rhetoric, mathematics, and grammar. The Metaphysics and Physics of Aristotle were proscribed, but the interdict was subsequently removed. The most popular text-book of logic was, for centuries, the "Summulæ" of Petrus Hispanus. The reforms of the papal legate were carried out before a distinct faculty of theology was formed. But theology was, yet, recognized by him as a separate

study (*facultas* in its earlier sense), and none allowed to lecture in it "publicly" till they were thirty-five years of age. The highest study of the Universities of Paris and England was theology; but let us never forget that theology comprehended philosophy, and indeed frequently touched the whole range of knowledge. At first and for long, however, theology was apt to be buried under dialectic disputations in a narrow sense.

Text-books of theology, or "Sentences," had come from various hands long before this time; the science had been thoroughly systematized and reduced to a corpus by the famous Peter the Lombard, after many attempts by others. His "*Liber Sententiarum*" became, from 1150, the universal text-book of the schools—text-book of philosophy as well as of theology—although his systematization was based very largely on Scripture and the Fathers. The writing to dictation, the discussion, and reproduction of this book, seem to have been the great end of theological study, the master or doctor of theology confining himself to commentaries on the text; but, by means of these commentaries, a great deal of Aristotelianism, pure or spurious, was always taught.

In 1257–1270, the religious orders, after a struggle, secured, as I have previously mentioned, the recognition of their own claustral teaching by the University of Paris, and became an integral part of it, sharing in its privileges. But in order to preserve the supremacy of "arts," which up to that time included

theology, the "faculty" of theology was created, and assigned a subordinate place in the university organization to that of arts. But none the less did theology continue to be regarded as queen of the sciences.

Again, about the time that Petrus Lombardus issued his *Corpus Theologiæ*, there emanated from Bologna (1157) a *Corpus juris Canonici*, which went by the name of the *Decretum*. Thereafter, canon law, which had been previously studied as part of the general theological course, now became a separate and specialized study under the direct mandate of the pope. Hence arose the faculty of the decree or the canon law.

Meanwhile the old Theodosian Code had been superseded by the labours of Irnerius and his pupils, and the issue of the "Pandects" of Justinian, about the middle of the same century, gave rise to the faculty of civil law.

Even the higher teaching of all the universities was confined to the dictation and exposition of the recognized authoritative books which I have named. Intellectual activity had to expend itself—not, however, fruitlessly—on the definitions and propositions involved in the dogmatic utterances of the recognized authorities. No doubt these discussions gave occasion for much dialectic absurdity as well as subtlety. They are regarded with feelings of contempt by some. But this is to misread history. For such dialectic, even in its crudest form, was in marked and significant con-

trast to the dead conformity of the centuries preceding universities, and familiarized the minds of the students to a quasi-independence in speculation which had great issues. When Thomas Aquinas had written, and Duns Scotus speculated, theology tended to pass more and more into metaphysics. Scotus Erigena had at last triumphed. Prior to the intellectual movement which led to the specialization of theology as including dialectic, the theological teaching was simply a study of the Scriptures and the Fathers. To study, copy, compile, and abridge the latter was the task of the professed theologian, and what was sought was not proof, but authority. Scholastic theology, on the other hand, meant the systematizing of theology on the basis of reason as well as of authority, and its method of procedure was by way of axioms, definitions, and deductions.

*Graduation.**—For the B.A. degree it may perhaps seem to us that the university requirements were contemptible, viz. grammar, with elementary logic and rhetoric; but if we keep in mind the youth of the candidates, the want of books, and the method of teaching, we shall be satisfied that even this minor degree marked the conclusion of a period of hard and sustained work. There was no food for the mind, but there was a great deal of severe discipline of the memory and intellect. After a disciplinary course of three or four years, the young student “determined,”

* See also Lecture XII.

that is to say, he defined or determined, logical terms and propositions in the presence of his master and fellow-students, and maintained his definitions against objectors. This having been done satisfactorily, he was named a bachelor by the masters of that subject, and had now the right to wear a round cap, and not only the right, but the obligation, to teach freshmen. He was then said *incipere in artibus*.*

For the Mastership his qualification was teaching in this private fashion (generally under some master) for a few years (apparently three), and attending public lectures, till he considered himself qualified to apply for the *licencia*. In 1215, Robert de Courçon, the papal legate who had been appointed to settle differences that arose in Paris, decreed that none should lecture or teach, *i.e.* publicly as a magister, till he was twenty-one, and had attended six years in arts and had passed an examination.

This examination consisted in maintaining theses or disputations in public. The candidate was then presented by the other masters to the Chancellor for the licence, which gave him freedom to teach publicly all and sundry, and made him a member of the university in the fullest sense—the mastership being merely (as I have previously explained) a ceremonial act following the licence. In the fourteenth century, when the graduation system was

* This is my interpretation of "inception" at Paris. I fail, after many perusals, to understand Mr. Mullinger's account of inception at Cambridge.

more fully organized, the artist who desired a mastership (unless he confined himself to a mastership in grammar alone*) had to study first arithmetic and music, then geometry and perspective, and finally astronomy; but the higher dialectic seems to have always governed the other schools. From the letter of the Paris masters (1254) we learn that arts included ethics and the philosophy of nature.

It is difficult to say whether all the above-named subjects were compulsory, as preparatory for the licentiate-ship (or mastership) in Arts. A decided advance seems to have been made in the mathematical studies at the universities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but, at best, the mathematical attainment was very narrow in its range. Roger Bacon (died 1294) complains that in his time very few went beyond the fifth proposition of the first book of Euclid; and for two or three centuries after his time, the six books were regarded as a very ample mathematical equipment. There can be no doubt that metaphysics, in some form or other, dominated the upper schools, and indeed the whole university both before and after St. Thomas Aquinas.

In *theology*, a course of five years was required by De Courçon to qualify for private, and a course of eight years for a public, course of lectures.

* This grammar degree for those who wished to be teachers of grammar schools existed, I think, only in England. It was a schoolmaster's degree.

The above brief sketch is of general application, and though specially relating to Paris, is in the main true of university studies as a whole down to the Humanistic revival at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

A slight sketch of the peculiarities of Bologna is, however, necessary in order to show the influence it had on subsequent university organizations. The course of instruction there consisted of lectures, repetitions, and disputations. It was only towards the end of the thirteenth century that the word "bachalarius" is found at Bologna, and then confined to mark a stage in the study of law, not of arts. A student who had studied under the doctors (and the lecturing and disputation system seems to have been very strictly organized) for a certain number of years might get permission from the Rector, on payment of a certain sum, to conduct "repetitions." A repetitio was the taking up of some point or text, already expounded, generally in a doctor's lecture, and considering all possible difficulties suggested by it, and all possible objections.* The text of a repetitio was announced some days beforehand. After one year of this work, the aspirant was called Bachalarius. For the Licencia, the bachelor continued to attend the doctors, and had to take part in the periodical disputations, which could be held only under the

* A somewhat similar kind of disputation was known even in the private provincial schools of law under the empire.

presidency of the doctors. Scholars were also free to take part in these. The *quæstio* of a disputation was, like the text of a *repetitio*, always posted up some days before the meeting.

After having studied law eight years *in all*, the bachelor applied for the *licencia*. For this there were two examinations, a private and then a public. The candidate selected a doctor as his promoter. Two texts were prescribed by him on which the candidate had to write a criticism. He then appeared before the college of doctors. The promoting doctor had alone the right to examine his candidate *generally*, but the other assembled doctors present might put questions on the prescribed texts. They then voted, and the candidate, if successful, became a *licentiate*. The next or public step (the *Conventus*) was for the candidate to go, in festive manner, to the cathedral, and there deliver a lecture on some point of law, and submit to any discussion arising out of the lecture into which the students might draw him. This was the public examination, evidently of a merely ceremonial character; and after it, the archdeacon proclaimed the new doctor and his right to the insignia. The hat and the ring and the book were then formally presented to him by his promoter or promoters. The public examination might follow close on the private one.*

* The doctors seem to have divided the graduation fees among them, the promoter getting a very large proportion of the whole.

The above order of graduation was in existence in the thirteenth

As to England: in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,* the want of grammar schools throughout England led to a large influx of boys of eleven or twelve years of age to Oxford and Cambridge. There were numerous monastery and cathedral schools, but these were generally in a decayed or decaying condition; and it can easily be understood that if a boy had to leave Yorkshire or Sussex for his education, he would prefer wending his way at once to the famous centres, where preparatory instruction was fully organized, to entering himself at a cathedral school of less reputation. To meet the wants of these boys, the schools of the Grammatici were numerous at both Oxford and Cambridge, and these the boy attended until he was qualified to enter the university as an arts student or artist.

The reflex effect of the competition of the universities on provincial, cathedral, and monastic schools can easily be understood. These found their work done for them, and largely ceased to do it. The weak "secondary" schools (as we should now call them) became weaker. "As the universities," says Warton, "began to flourish, . . . the monasteries, of course,

century. It was only after 1219, apparently, that the archdeacon had a part to play in the ceremony. Even then his duty was purely formal and official. Abuses in granting the degree had arisen, and the pope appointed the archdeacon to an office similar to that of the cathedral chancellor at Paris.

* And we may add the fifteenth. William Bingham, who founded Clare Hall, Cambridge, says that in 1439 he passed seventy deserted schools in travelling from Hampton to Ripon, by way of Coventry.

grew inattentive to studies which were more strongly encouraged, more commodiously pursued, and more successfully cultivated in other places." To meet this evil to some extent, the abbeys and monasteries and cathedrals began to send boys to Oxford and Cambridge with small allowances, and after 1335 every Benedictine and Augustinian monastery was ordered to send docile boys to the universities in the proportion of not less than one in twenty of the whole community (Willis's "Cambridge"). It was only after the age for matriculation was heightened, that the secondary schools of England reached a standard much higher than that of a superior primary school. We see also in Scotland a good secondary school system made impossible, up to the present day, by the action of the universities, and we have even in recent years seen that action defended by disinterested professors. Neither in England nor Scotland have we yet organized a secondary system comparable to that existing during the first three centuries after Christ under the Flavian and Antonine dynasties and their immediate successors. Thus the standard of local or provincial culture is depressed, and the first year's course at our Scottish seats of learning brings discredit on the very name of university. After all, is it much better at Oxford and Cambridge? What are the private records of the "little go"? The universities themselves are depressed by the dead weight of the incompetent on whom they

spend their best energies. It was so also in the fourteenth century. The boys at the grammar schools of the university had to rush their preparation, and as "they were not grounded in their first rudiments at the proper time, they built a tottering edifice on an insecure foundation." *

A boy who had gone the regular course in the grammar schools would find himself qualified for the university generally about the age of fourteen. He then matriculated and entered himself under a Master of Arts, by whom he was prepared during a period of four years for Determinations, *i.e.* the B.A. degree. In Oxford he had to pass the half-way house of Responsions. The examination at Responsions (and here we simply summarize Mr. Anstey's account) had reference to grammar and arithmetic, and until he passed the examination the scholar was called "sophista generalis;" after this his designation was "questionist." The second examination embraced rhetoric and logic (and probably music); and was called "determinations" because of the questions put to the candidate to be determined. Mr. Anstey says, "It seems to me that at Paris determination simply meant defining in logic and rhetoric, and maintaining the definition against the master or other determiners;" and this quite accords with the conclusion to which I had myself come in the case of Paris. But Mr. Mullinger (p. 354) points out that at Cambridge the

* Richard of Bury (died 1345), quoted by Mullinger, p. 206.

questionist was first required to answer questions—*respondere ad quæstionem*—and this seems to have been the true examination for the bachelorship. When he had done this satisfactorily, he was then required for a certain number of days *determinare quæstionem*, that is to say, to preside over meetings when the quæstio was put, and to sum up and decide. It is only in this presiding over meetings that the Cambridge practice *really* differed from that of Paris and Oxford. ✓

The bachelor who was still *in statu pupillari* now devoted three years to attendance on lectures and disputations—studying geometry, astronomy, and philosophy, in the old sense of that term, viz. physics, ethics, and metaphysics. At every stage of the student's career, text-books were prescribed, and no departure from these allowed. The master read a portion of the text to his scholars, and then proceeded to prelect on it, and finally raised points for class discussion. At a time when there were few books, much must have depended on the acquired learning and teaching-power of the master whom the bachelors elected to attend. The method of teaching was, so far as it went, admirable.

Three years having elapsed in such studies, the bachelor was recommended by a certain number of masters to the Chancellor, who granted him a licence to "incept," *i.e.* to begin lecturing and disputing in arts in the presence of an audience of "masters."

This he did for a year or more before he was recognized as a "master." Mr. Anstey refers the festivities, fees and presents imposed on the candidate to the period of inception, and does not point to any ceremony of magistration.* The Master of Arts might then remain at the university as a regent, or go out to the world as one of the regular clergy or as a schoolmaster. If, however, he desired to continue his studies, he entered one of the higher faculties—medicine, law, or theology—and then went through a course substantially similar to that of the arts; "masters" in each of these "higher" faculties being ultimately called doctors, to distinguish them from Masters of arts.†

I have followed Mr. Anstey in the above summary of the master's course and inception so far as Oxford is concerned. Mr. Mullinger gives a somewhat different account of the proceedings at Cambridge, and one more closely in accord with the continental practice. The chief difference is that Mr. Anstey represents the candidate as being declared "master" after an exercise at public lecturing and disputation, and says that this was *followed* by a year's lecturing. Is Mr. Anstey not mistaken on this point? Again, Mr. Mullinger points out that the bachelor

* At Paris the "licence" was given after disputations and lecturing, and the ceremony of "magistration," with all its attendant expenses, followed immediately thereafter.

† But for long the word "master" in theology was preferred to "doctor" at Oxford.

might lecture *cursoriè*. It was a matter of course in Paris that he should lend assistance in preparing the sophisters, and this was part of his preparation for the licence. In Prague also, founded on the Parisian model, the young bachelor was required to promise that he would teach for two years. I do not quite understand the meaning which Mr. Mullinger would attach to the bachelor's lectures *cursoriè*. From my own reading I would explain the word as simply meaning lectures delivered while the bachelor was running his course for master. On the other hand, it is worthy of remark that in Prague the bachelor was always restricted to the text-book, and prohibited from explaining or expounding. Hence, perhaps, a secondary meaning to the expression "cursory lecturing."

When now we survey the school grammar course, the university baccalaurean requirements, the subsequent studies for the Arts mastership, and thereafter the repetition of each graduation step of the Arts course in the higher faculties, and compare this with the scholastic curriculum of the eleventh century, we must admit that the education of Europe had in the course of little more than a century become revolutionized. The academic organization was indeed already, in all essential respects, complete, and we cannot but wonder at the activity of mind which in so short a time produced such remarkable changes. Along with the new organization there arose, as we

have seen, the idea of a literary republic independent of monastic rule, and a freedom of speculation within this republic out of which has come our modern life. From time to time the Church, as represented by its central authority at Rome, had its own difficulties with individuals, especially at Paris and Oxford; but on the whole, up to the fifteenth century, it was the nurse of universities, and regarded them with favour. It threw its shield over them more than once. We may indeed suspect that its patronage had often political aims, and that it hoped, by securing a direct and ultramontanist allegiance, to weaken the nationalism of the academic clerics. If the pope had this purpose, then, spite of occasional successes, he ultimately failed. The sporadic humanism of the thirteenth century reappeared in the end of the fifteenth in full force, and, aided by the art of printing, was, then and for ever, too strong for pope or monk. It has had its own battle since, and has it now—a battle that has to be fought with Protestant obscurantism as well as with ultramontanism. But it cannot fail to be victorious, for it represents the mobility of the spirit of man as opposed to crystallized forms, and the essential freedom of mind as opposed to the tyrannous usurpation of the empire of reason by mere authority. The Catholic idea of the spiritual unity of mankind was certainly a grand one, but it is not to be accomplished by utterances *ex cathedra*, nor, indeed, on any terms yet discernible by the eye of either historian or philosopher.

Any further consideration of the work done in the universities in the latter portion of the Middle Ages, in so far as they were the centres of speculation, or reflected the ecclesiastical and political movements of successive generations, would demand special and extended treatment. The historian would have to take for his guide the special histories of medicine, of Roman law, of philosophy and philology, down to about the year 1500; and, thereafter, the history of the Humanistic revival and its varied fortunes. Especially after the revival of letters, the annalist would have to acknowledge that the history of progress of the human intellect no longer finds its exclusive centre in the universities. Outside these, though no doubt largely influenced by them, there has run a parallel influence, literary, scientific, and philosophical, which would have to be taken account of. We see an analogy in political history during the last century; for this is no longer to be studied in the formal acts of kings, cabinets, and councils, but in the activity of the Publicists outside these, who first supply the ideas, and then largely shape the policy, of States.*

The mediæval universities gave a liberal interpretation to "Arts," I have said; but I do not mean it to

* Even in 1623 the University of Oxford, in acknowledging a presentation copy of Bacon's "*De Augmentis*," says, "She (*i.e.* the university) readily acknowledgeth that, though the Muses are born in Oxford, they grow elsewhere."

be inferred that they consciously aimed at free and encyclopædic investigation. The idea of a university as an academy of free scientific inquiry may, in a sense, have existed at Athens, or, at least, at Alexandria, but, strictly speaking, it is a modern conception. The universities of the Middle Ages had to discharge their functions in subordination to the Church. Nor did they attempt, except in the department of metaphysics, to start new questions of a fundamental kind. The business of the doctors of law was to expound the civil law of Justinian and the Decretum of Gratian, and if they extended their area at all, to extend it by means of interpretations and commentaries. In medicine, Galen and Hippocrates and Avicenna, or manuals based on these writers, were expounded, and extended by new observations. In theology, the decrees of the councils were expounded and commented on, and the authority of the Fathers brought into requisition in support of them, the great text-book being the *Sententiæ* of Peter the Lombard and afterwards the *Summa* of Aquinas. As regards the preliminary course of studies in arts which terminated in the bachelorship, it was confined very much, as we have seen, to the old trivium—grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric. These subjects also were taught from authoritative books, the learners taking ample notes from the dictation of the masters, and “getting these up.” It was only in connection with the philosophical questions closely related to

theology, that discussions early arose which led to free thought, and foreshadowed heresies. The practice of disputation in the schools unquestionably promoted freedom. Not only those seeking the higher degree of masters, but the students, had to debate questions in public and take sides, one of which at least might lean to heterodoxy. They were playing with dangerous weapons, as it turned out. But during the first centuries of university life the papal authority had no fear of universities. St. Andrews, in Scotland, founded so late as 1411, was founded by the pope (spite of all that had happened at Paris) for the defence of the faith. So with Heidelberg five and twenty years before.

The true Catholic attitude to all investigation was, and is, one admitting of great advances in every department of learning, while checking all true freedom of thought. It is well described by Mabillon when speaking of the use of reason in theology: "*Hic autem rationis usus malus non est si coercitus intra terminos et a regulis limitatus. . . . Quiescere non potest unquam hominum ratio; minus sufferre leges, ægerrime limites et terminos. Attamen in theologia pati debet eosdem et a fide accipere.*"* He also, quite consistently with Catholic interests, guards the faithful against dialectic and philosophy, and looks with little favour on the practice of disputation.

Even in these days, outside Catholic restrictions,

* "*De Studiis Monasticis*," pt. ii. c. vi., Latin Trans. of 1702.

the function of universities in the body politic is still debated. There seems to be a growing consensus of opinion, however, in favour of the view that they must be at one and the same time scientific institutes and training schools for the business of life.

The latter function of universities—the training of the youth of the country for their public duties—has been very well expressed in the *North American Review* for October, 1842. "In the colleges," the writer says, "is determined the character of most of the persons who are to fill the professions, teach the schools, write the books, and do most of the business of legislation for the whole body of the people. The general direction of literature and politics, the prevailing habits and modes of thought throughout the country, are in the hands of men whose social position and early advantages have given them an influence, of the magnitude and permanency of which the possessors themselves are hardly conscious." If this be true—as it undoubtedly is—it becomes us to look upon these institutions even with anxiety, and to cease regarding them as merely large schools in which knowledge is bought and sold. The preparation for public life must be an organized preparation.

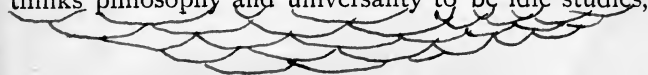
As academic institutes, again, devoted to the investigation and propagation of truth, they are to be jealously guarded. Especially in these days, when the influence of the few must yield to the voice of the many, it is imperative on all who wish well to their

country to hedge round with privilege all centres of intellectual and moral power. It is only thus that their freedom can be secured. They are in their essence the friends of true liberty, and the sworn foes of despotism, whether autocratic or democratic. Withdraw organization, privilege, and protection, and they are dissolved as universities, whatever else they may become. On the other hand, they cannot expect to retain at once the privileges of a public, and the irresponsibilities of a private, corporation. Academic privileges, like the political or social privileges of individuals and families, whether directly conferred by the State or merely acquiesced in by it as a traditional survival, exist for public purposes, and the return which the universities are expected to give is not only philosophical and scientific guidance to the nation, but also that training for public life to which the American writer refers in the passage quoted above. And this they give, I think, not so much in the formation of character as in the furnishing of ideas and principles of action, which give direction and purpose to character already largely formed by the home and the school.

Let the governing members of universities *themselves* realize that they are members of scientific corporations. This they can never truly be while they use their resources for the enrichment of individuals, and not for the general academic good. They have, in their primary idea and organization, far more

affinity to the monastic community than to the shop. Whatever intrinsic differences there may be in the subjects taught and the persons teaching them, all the members of the encyclopædic body are to be recognized as discharging functions equally important in their relation to the universal scientific aim and to the practical wants of the nation.

From the fact that purely professional training pays, there has always been a tendency in universities themselves to look too exclusively to the practical aim of their existence, and to lose sight of the purely scientific function. Even after the great wave of the revival had passed over them, they failed to realize this function. We find Lord Verulam complaining of the narrow aims of the university as understood in his own time. In his "*Advancement of Learning*" he says, "First, then, among so many great foundations of colleges in Europe, I find it strange that they are all dedicated to professions, and none left free to arts and sciences at large. For, if men judge that learning should be referred to action, they judge well; but in this they fall into the error described in the ancient fable, in which the other parts of the body did suppose the stomach had been idle because it neither performed the office of motion as the limbs do, nor of sense as the head doth; but yet, notwithstanding, it is the stomach that digesteth and distributeth to all the rest. So that if any man thinks philosophy and universality to be idle studies,

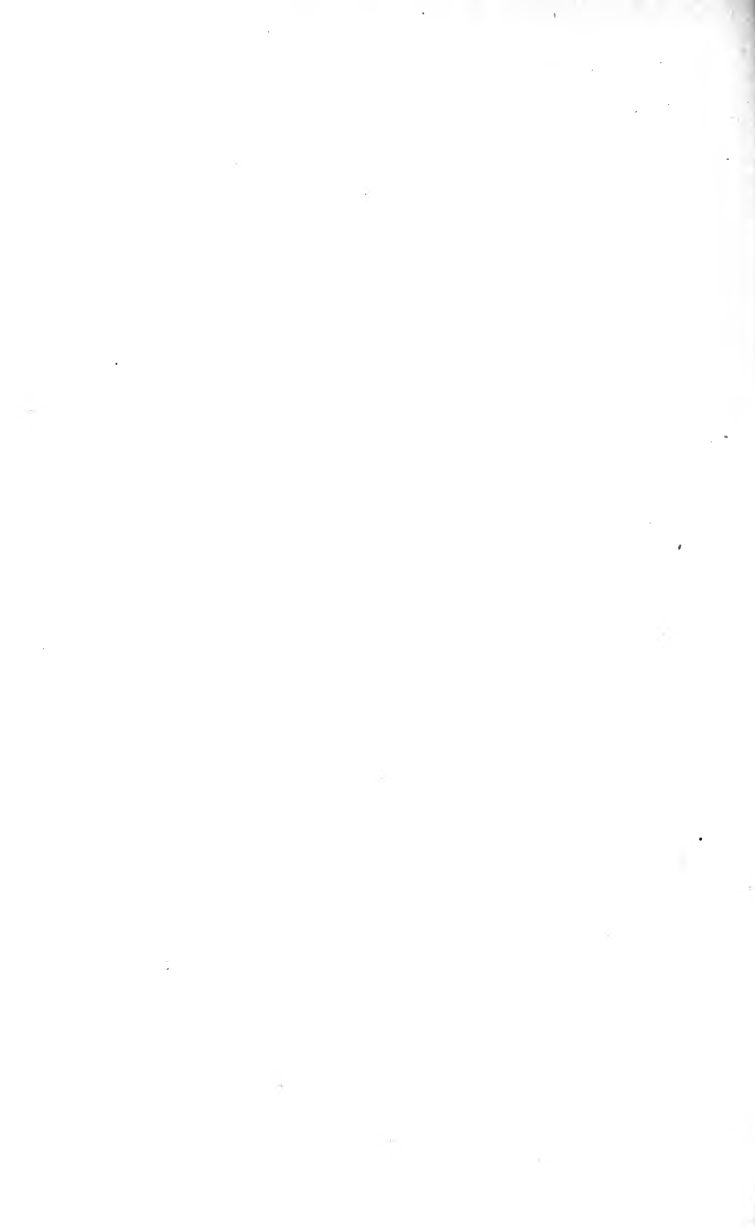


he doth not consider that all professions are from thence served and supplied. And this I take to be a great cause that hath hindered the profession of learning, because these fundamental knowledges have been studied but in passage. For if you will have a tree bear more fruit than it used to do, it is not anything you can do to the boughs, but it is the stirring of the earth and putting new mould about the roots that must work it." Lord Verulam, hopeless of reforming existing institutions, had formed the conception of a great university, which should be the mother of others, and which should be devoted entirely to the investigation and dissemination of scientific truth. In the "New Atlantis" the father of Solomon's House sketches an university on a vast scale, not yet, nor ever likely to be, realized. The movement of late years for the endowment of research is thus only the revival of a Baconian dream. Dr. Döllinger also speaks of universities as "corporations devoted to the advancement of the kingdom of knowledge by means of investigation and literary productivity." Nay, more, as "the supreme court of appeal in things of the mind." It is from this point of view that he ventures to say that "Oxford and Cambridge are as far removed from what we call an university as heaven from earth"—are, in fact, only big schools where mere gymnasium work is prolonged. We are content to be less exacting than Bacon and Döllinger, and to be satisfied if we see the combination of scientific re-

search with the professional instruction of youth ; and we believe that the one is essential to the life and virility of the other. A professor's true attitude was well expressed a thousand years ago by a humanist born long before his time—the eminent Loup de Ferrières—in a letter to Charles the Bald : “ I desire to teach what I have learned and *am daily learning*.” *

* Crevier, i. 57, edit. 1761.

THE END.



WORKS BY PROFESSOR S. S. LAURIE.

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"The work is the production of an original and profound

thinker who is well aware of the difficulties of his thesis. The argument is managed with skill and dialectic power. The treatise is well entitled to the attention of students of Philosophy."

From "Mind," October, 1885.

"The 'Ethica' repeats the characteristics of the 'Metaphysica,' and is an equally noteworthy contribution to the determination of ultimate philosophical positions. The book is not controversial in character, and is as sparing as its predecessor in the specific allusions to other writers; but we are able to feel that the abstention is advised, and that the author's theory has been elaborated in full view of modern discussions. As he proceeds on his own way, doctrines receive their correction, amplification, or *quietus*, though their authors are not referred to. . . .

"Enough has perhaps been said to prove that the argument deserves to be studied by all who aim at clear thinking on ethical questions."

From "The British Quarterly Review."

"As we expected, the acute and logical author of 'Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta' has followed up that work with another, in which his leading principles are applied in the field of ethics. Here, as in his former work, he is very close and cogent, scorning to allow himself any of the easy and rhetorical illustrations with which some writers in philosophy are prone to make up their chapters. Whatever may be said of his ideas, his style, it will be admitted, is one that is to be commended alike for its directness, simplicity, and serviceableness. We have read the book with an increasing conviction of the author's originality and power, and of the benefit that his books may confer, even in this regard, on philosophical students. So carefully is his main argument drawn out that we cannot find space to outline it here, but must content ourselves with indicating one or two of his salient positions. . . .

"The author's application of his principles to the development of the Altruistic Emotions, to Law, and Justice is ad-

mirably consistent and suggestive ; though, of course, in the process he has to deal somewhat severely with the definitions of the moral sense, the moral faculty, and conscience, which have been given by not a few writers on philosophy, ethics, and theology. Many of Kant's positions are incisively criticized, and *lacunæ*, as the author conceives, supplied. As a criticism of ethical systems, no less than as a piece of dialectic, and a positive contribution to ethical science, it is suggestive and thorough. We can cordially commend the book. It will raise questions no doubt, and answers will be forthcoming on various points ; but the questioners would do well to take a hint from the author in the style of answering them."

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From "Die Philosophische Monatshefte," xxii. 6, 7.

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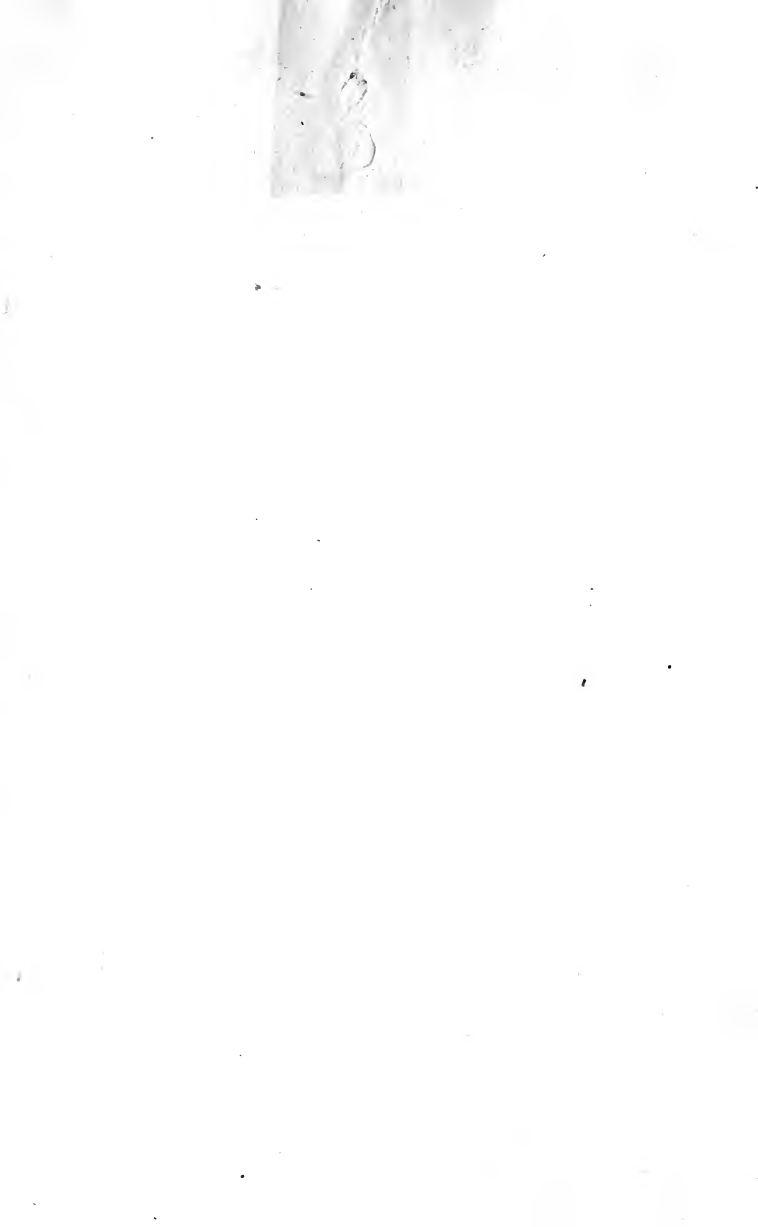
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